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J. W. McMULLIN

THE ENGLISH RADICALS 1833-1837

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THE ENGLISH RADICALS 1833-1837

by

JENNIE WILLING McMULLIN

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Master of Arts**

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PREFACE

The following four chapters cover the work in Parliament of the Radical faction of the Liberal Party during the four years from 1833 to 1837. The first chapter describes that faction; the second discusses its activities during the first Reformed Parliament; the third does the same for the second Reformed Parliament; and the fourth introduces the reader to the situation of the parties at the beginning of the third Reformed Parliament.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The period 1833-1841 marks the rise and decline of a group of men in the English Parliament known as the Radicals. It is their fortunes from 1832 to 1837 which will be discussed in the following pages.

The official returns of the elections of December, 1832, make no mention of the Radicals, who must therefore be ferreted out and distinguished from the Whigs, or Liberals, under whose name they were elected. They were ultra-Liberals, who had no party organization or platform, whose constituencies demanded certain reforms beyond those supported by the body of the Whigs. We can know them only by the means by which they became known to each other; viz., by their favorable attitude to the oft repeated requests for certain reforms during the decade following the Reform Bill of 1832. These reforms are fairly well summarized in the list of pledges which Mr. Francis Place, who became the almoner of the Radicals,^{1.} suggested for members of the Reformed Parliament. They were, (1) Parliamentary reform; i.e., shorter parliaments and the use of the ballot; (2) law reform; (3) financial reform; (4) the adoption of free trade; (5) church

1. Wallas: Life of Francis Place, p. 327.

reform, which meant anything to those who favored it, from the commutation of tithes and the abolition of the church rates to the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords and the entire disestablishment of the Church in England and Ireland; (6) the abolition of slavery; and (7) the abolition of taxes on knowledge.

These tests are not infallible, however, because many who held Radical opinions upon one or more questions, were decidedly conservative on others. It is true that almost every Radical at some time between 1832 and 1841 voted for the adoption of the ballot, the repeal of the property qualification for voting for members of the House of Commons, and the repeal of the stamp tax on newspapers; but not every one who voted on some one of these measures can be accepted unquestioningly as a Radical, without consideration of his vote on other questions. The date at which an individual was converted to a particular view is also of value in determining his classification: the man who advocated the ballot in 1833, when 106¹ voted for it, and 211 against it, could be stamped as a Radical with much more probability of correctness than could the man who voted for the same measure in 1838 when 198 voted for 2. it and 315 against it. Race prejudice must also be taken

1. See below, p. 24.

2. Hansard, LX, p. 1221.

into account. An English or Scotch member who joined with the Irish in their protests against Liberal and Conservative coercion of Ireland, can be set down as sufficiently independent to be a radical upon any subject; but on the other hand, many whose attitude on other subjects entitles them to be classed as **radicals**, will not be found in the list of those who stood by Ireland. Similarly, those who are anxious to curtail the privileges of the Established Church in England and Ireland are radicals in other things; but some who favor the ballot, short parliaments, and free trade, support the Established Church in England or in Ireland. Thus religious conservatism frequently lingers when political and financial conservatism have fled.

It must be recognized, therefore, that no rigid set of rules can be applied in determining the members who belong within the scope of this paper; and that there must be almost as many fluctuations in the meaning of the word "Radical", as there were individuals in the parliamentary group which bore that name.

Chapter II

The First Reformed Parliament, Jan., 1833-Aug., 1885.

According to the Tories,¹ the first elections after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832["]were marked by more than ordinary riot and tumult, although their duration was so short. At Sheffield, five men were killed....At Hull, Mr. Hill, who was returned, was almost murdered..... The brickbat and the bludgeon, in compliance with the advice of high authority, were liberally employed; and yet in the midst of all this, we find the ministerial papers congratulating themselves on the peaceable and orderly returns, which they attribute to their bill. The representatives are in many cases worthy of such modes of election. Hunt, Wilde, Mayhew, to be sure have been thrown out....but we have Gully, Gronow, Key, Buckingham, Cobbett, Walter, and others of the same order, sent in to swell the company of Whittle Harvey and Lytton Bulwer." It is these representatives, stigmatized by their enemies as "worthy of such modes of election" whose acts are to be followed through the first and second Reformed Parliaments, and who are to be known as the Radicals.

The first Reformed Parliament, which met January 29, 1833, contained 658 members, of whom 479 were elected as Whigs, or

1. Editorial: The Elections, in Fraser's Magazine, Jan., 1833, Vol. VII, pp. 122-124.

Liberals, and 179 as Tories, or as they preferred to be called,
1.
Conservatives. This gave the Whigs an apparent majority of
300, but from that majority there must be deducted perhaps
108 English and Welsh Radicals who were much more progressive
2.
than the rank and file of the Liberal party, though elected
under that name; a few Scotch members of the same type; and
3.
less than 70 Irish members who stood with the English and
Scotch Radicals on many progressive measures, and who were
pledged to work for the repeal of the union between England
and Ireland. This left the orthodox Liberals with a clear
majority of less than 100--a majority sufficient to make them,
in this first Reformed Parliament, practically independent
of the ultra-reformers--the Radicals and Repealers.

The Tories, or Conservatives, had fought the Reform Bill
and were expecting attempts at radical legislation as a result
of the disturbance in the relations between classes; the ortho-
dox Whigs or Liberals had favored that bill but were ready to
oppose the further liberal legislation which was the logical
consequence of that act, but which would give the conserva-
tives a chance to croak. The Radicals accepted the act, and
came armed with its logical consequences in the form of pro-

1. McCalmont: The Parliamentary Poll Book, p. 332 B.
2. Computed with reference to the measures for which they stood.
3. The Elections: Fraser's Mag. Vol. VII, p. 122. Also Morley:
Life of Gladstone, Vol. I, p. 101.

posals for further changes. Several of them came from the newly created boroughs, and thus owed their presence in
1. Parliament to the Reform Bill; i.e., H. A. W. Fellowes of Andover, T. Attwood and Joshua Scholefield of Birmingham, Henry Warburton and John Romilly of Bridport, Henry Aglionby of Cockermouth, Sir William Molesworth of Leeds, William Ewart of Liverpool, Mark Philips and the Right Hon. C.P. L. Thompson of Manchester, and Joseph Brotherton of Salford. Among those who were to be the leaders in the demands for reform during the next decade were Charles Buller, who had been in Parliament in 1832, had voted for the extinction of
2. his own borough, Looe, and had been returned by Liskeard in 1833; George Grote, from the city of London, whose special hobby was vote by ballot; the Right Hon. Charles Tennyson (later d'Eyncourt), M.P. for Lambeth, and sponsor for the cause of shorter Parliaments; Mr. William Cobbett of Oldham, whose mind was so set upon reduction of the taxes upon the poor that every line of argument on which he embarked invariably led back to his favorite theme; and Joseph Hume, the Middlesex member who fought against extravagance in every department of the government.

It was this Mr. Hume who on the first day of the first Reformed Parliament, Jan. 29, 1833, brought out the first dis-----

1. McCalmont: Parl. Poll Book. See under Andover, Birmingham, etc.
2. Mrs. Fawcett: Sir Wm. Molesworth, p. 35.

tinctly Radical vote, when he moved that Mr. Littleton take
1.
the chair. 31 supported the motion. On February 5, the
Radicals again made themselves heard when Mr. Warburton
asked Lord Althorp if it was the intention of the government
to bring forward a measure with respect to the duty on news-
papers. Lord Althorp wished to, but could give no pledge
2.
until he knew the state of the finances. On the 8th of
February, Mr. O'Connell moved for a Committee of the whole
3.
House to consider his Majesty's Speech. Only 4 English
and 2 Scotch members were radical enough to ignore racial
4.
differences and vote with the Irish repealers. The English
members were Attwood of Birmingham, Cobbett of Oldham, Hume
of Middlesex, and Kennedy of Tiverton. Eighteen were hardy
enough to support Mr. Tennyson's amendment to that part of the
message which foreboded the coercion act for Ireland, that
"if under the circumstances which may be disclosed to us, we
shall be induced to trust his Majesty with additional powers,
we shall feel it our duty to accompany that acquiescence in
his Majesty's wishes by a close and diligent investigation
into the causes of discontent in Ireland with a view to the
application of prompt and effectual remedies; and that although

1. Hansard: Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. XV, p. 76.
2. Ibid, p. 136.
3. Hansard, XV, p. 177.
4. Ibid, p. 861.

it is our duty to receive the petitions of the people of Ireland with regard to the Legislative Union of the two countries, and to leave ourselves free to consider that subject, yet we are ready to support his Majesty in maintaining that Union against all lawless attempts to defeat it, or to invade the peace, security, and welfare of his Majesty's dominions.^{1.}"

Mr. Cobbett made the startling announcement (Feb. 11) that he objected to every title of the speech in answer to his Majesty's Message after the words "Most Gracious Majesty", and he thereupon moved an Address of which the following is a part.

"We beg your majesty to be assured that we shall enter upon the task (of making great and extensive changes with regard to the temporalities of the Church) with all the patience, all the diligence, and all the absence of passion and prejudice, which the interesting and momentous subject so imperiously demands.... Our bounded duty to our constituents compels us to express to your majesty our deep regret that your majesty should not have been advised graciously to suggest to us to consider of the means of lightening the numerous and heavy burthens which are a discouragement to industry and which so cruelly oppress the meritorious and suffering

1. Hansard: XV, p. 462.

classes, and we assure your majesty that we will with all diligence and zeal, proceed to an investigation of the causes which have produced those burdens and their consequent sufferings, and to the adoption of measures which shall in our judgment be calculated to produce effectual and permanent relief.^{1.}"

The amendment was seconded by Mr. John Fielden, and the House divided on it. Twenty-three voted for, three hundred twenty-three against it. Mr. T. Attwood, who would not vote for the amendment of Mr. Cobbett, still insisted that it was "poverty that was making discontent, and the more poverty is coerced the more it will increase. I am no friend of the Repeal of the Union. I wish to try what a Reforming House of Commons will do to relieve the distress and ameliorate the condition of Ireland....but if I find that this House wants either the power or the will to apply the remedies, then I shall declare myself a friend to repeal".^{2.}

As on the Irish question, so on the religious question, the Radicals did not stand together. A petition was presented (Feb. 14), praying for the release of all persons incarcerated for blasphemy.^{3.} Mr. Cobbett immediately declared his

1. Hansard, XV, p. 524.

2. Ibid, p. 550.

3. Ibid, p. 543.

4. Ibid, p. 634.

intention to oppose every such attempt to unchristianize

1.

the country. Mr. Hume hoped the petition would be con-
1.

sidered. Mr. O'Connell thought that punishment tended to
1.

increase blasphemy. The petition was laid upon the table.

On the question of the observance of the Sabbath they were pretty well agreed. Mr. Plumptre presented a petition from Broadstairs (Feb. 19) praying for an act to compel the better observance of the Sabbath. Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Hume,
3. 3.
Colonel Torrens and Mr. Warburton spoke strongly against such action. Mr. Warburton criticized the report of the Committee of the last session, the object of which appeared to be not only "to put an end to all amusement, but to all that exercise so necessary to the smoke-dried population of large towns."
3.
In regard to a similar petition (March 6), Mr. Cobbett said that the rich tradesman who could go out on Sunday to see his children at boarding school, wished to prevent the poor one from selling on Sunday so he would sell more Monday.
4.
This extraordinary liberality is a startling contrast to the bigoted views which he had expressed (March 6) on a petition for the emancipation of the Jews.

"Sir," said he on that occasion, "this is a petition for abolishing Christianity in England....God knows, the Jews

1. Hansard, XV, p. 635.

2. Ibid, p. 950.

3. Ibid, p. 951.

4. Ibid, XVI, p. 291.

make free enough already, and certainly get more money together than any set of Christians. As if this were not enough, a clause was slipped into an Act of Parliament a few years back to enable them to possess freehold property in England.But let the Honorable Gentleman, I say, tell me what would be our position with a Jew Judge upon the Bench--a blasphemer by profession--one who calls Jesus Christ an impostor? What would the Honorable Member do with this Judge stuck up there, to try a man for blasphemy?"^{1.}

Cobbett was the only Radical of prominence, however, who took this stand.^{2.}

On the 22nd of February, Government introduced in the House a Bill to enable them to suppress disturbances in Ireland,^{3.} alleging that disturbers had prevented the payment of tithes in certain districts, had prescribed the terms on which land was to be let, and had killed, or destroyed the property of many of those who disobeyed.^{4.} The bill passed its third reading (March 29) by a vote of 345 to 86, all the Conservatives voting with the government, and 47 English and Scotch Radicals with the Irish.^{5.} These Radicals protested against the declaration of martial law in disturbed districts on the

1. Hansard XVI, p. 12.

2. Hansard XXIV, p. 383. Vote on 3rd reading of bill to remove the disabilities of the Jews.

3. Annual Register, LXXV, History of Europe, p. 38.

4. Ann. Reg. LXXV, Hist. of Europe, p. 38.

5. Hansard XVI, p. 1283.

ground that it was unnecessary and would be made an excuse
for keeping up the numbers in the army in Ireland. They
tried to amend the bill so that the non-payment of tithes in
any districts could not be made an excuse for the government
to declare martial law.^{1.} They tried to save for the declar-
ed districts the right to meet for the purpose of petitioning
the government.^{2.} Mr. T. Attwood moved "That all further
proceedings on the Irish Disturbance Bill be suspended till
the measures relating to the Reform of the Church of Ireland,
and the other measures for the amelioration of that country
have passed into laws."^{3.} In all their efforts to make the
bill less obnoxious to the Irish, the Radicals were defeated
by the coalition of Conservatives and Liberals.

The principal proposal of the government for the amelio-
ration of conditions in Ireland was for the reform of the
Established Church in Ireland. The Irish Temporalities Bill
provided for a reduction in the number of bishops in Ireland;
for a graduated tax on the incomes of future incumbents in
Ireland; for the substitution for the vestry cess, which it
abolished, of a tax on church lands to build houses; and for
the equalization of stipends.^{4.} The Radicals supported the

1. Hansard, XVI, p. 411. Speech of Joseph Hume.

2. Ibid, p. 757

3. Ibid, p. 679

4. Ibid, p. 742.

5. Ann. Reg. LXXV, Hist. of Europe, p. 84.

bill, though it did not go far enough to suit most of them. Eight of them voted for Mr. Barron's amendment "that the Revenues of the Irish Church be applied to purposes of general utility after the demise of the present incumbent."^{1.} Both houses accepted the Bill, the upper house, according to Mr. O'Connell, not making it much worse than it was when it came to them.^{2.}

An important feature of the radical program was the reduction of what the Radicals regarded as useless expenditure. Mr. Hume led the attack. On the 14th of February, he proposed the following resolution: "That the existence of sine-cure offices and offices executed by deputy, in the Army and Navy Departments is unnecessary and inexpedient as a means of remunerating public services."^{3.} He was supported in the division by 138 votes against 232, most of the Radicals and a few others voting with him.^{4.} In the debate, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, (Liberal), said he could not favor taking away from the government the power of thus rewarding important services. Mr. Roebuck would go even further than Mr. Hume --he would not pay where no services were performed, nor overmuch for services performed.^{5.} Mr. Cobbett was ready,

as usual, with fitting comparisons, referring to the sine-

1. Hansard, XVII, p. 1386.

2. Ann. Reg. LXXV, Hist. of Europe, p. 139.

3. Hansard, XV, p. 660.

4. Ibid, p. 713.

5. Ibid, p. 698.

curists as "113 sackers of the public money, who pocket £650000 of the money of the people--a sum equal to the wages of 163000 weavers, and to the Poor Rates of the first five counties in England."^{1.}

Mr. Hume's next attempt along that line aroused a storm of criticism even among his friends, but was successful in securing its object; viz., the appointment of a committee to examine into the number of members of both Houses who held offices under the Crown, removable at pleasure. He stated it as his opinion that such persons should not be members;^{2.} neither should officers in the Army or Navy. Mr. Roebuck disagreed with him. He thought that the principle was not sufficiently democratic, that no constraint should be placed upon the choice of the people.^{3.} Mr. Cobbett likewise disagreed. He would much rather have officers of the Army and Navy in the House than landowners who pocketed so much of the people's money. He considered the half-pay of the army and navy as reward for past service, not a retaining fee.^{4.}

Mr. Hume was not as successful in his demand for an account of the distribution of the military force in Great Britain and Ireland and in the colonies. The radical

1. Hansard, XV, p. 689
2. Ibid, p. 693.
3. Ibid, p. 1107.
4. Ibid, p. 1111.

Colonel Torrens thought it would be a military blunder to
1.
expose those facts to the world.

On the same day (March 7), the Radicals paused long enough in their demands for economy to broach the propriety of erecting a new House of Commons in the interest of democracy. Mr. Hume himself made the motion, Mr. Warburton seconded it; and the Conservative Sir Robert Inglis found himself fighting a proposal of the Radicals for an extravagant expenditure. Sir Robert thought the present House sufficient. He "revered these walls", and considered a small body better for most occasions than a large one, as
3.
not all the members were fit to talk on every subject.

Mr. O'Connell facetiously remarked that if the House was too small there was one remedy-to send 105 M. P.'s back to Ireland.
3.
Mr. Hume's motion carried, a committee was appointed
4.
to consider the matter, and the Radicals became economical again.

When the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, (March 25), Mr. Hume moved that it is expedient, before voting the Estimates for the Naval and Military Establishment that the House be informed of the state of the finances of the country, and whether any and what relief is proposed for

1. Hansard XVI, p. 379..
2. Ibid, p. 370.
3. Ibid, p. 378.
4. Ibid, p. 379.

the people from the burden of taxation.^{1.} He did not, however, press his motion to a division, but attacked individual items in the estimates. His proposal that the number of men in the navy be reduced from 2700 to 200 was defeated by a vote of 347 to 44; his motion to reduce the naval estimates by the amount of the sinecures was rejected 224 to 83.^{2.} Some objected to the latter on the ground that the pay should not be withheld until the sinecures should have been abolished.^{3.} Acting on this hint, Mr. Hume introduced a motion (April 18) "That in all future vacancies of sinecure offices, no new appointment shall be made; and that no person shall receive any salary, fee, or emolument for any office to which he shall hereafter be appointed, the duties of which are or shall be executed by deputy".^{4.} Naval and military officers were omitted, and the motion was agreed to.^{5.}

This was the extent of the success of the Radicals in trying to reduce the estimates. They were defeated again (June 11) when 77 of them voted against granting compensation to the West Indian planters for freeing their slaves;^{6.} and on Mr. Buckingham's motion (July 2) to appoint a committee to consider the practicability of reducing the National Debt.^{7.}

1. Hansard, XVI, p. 1005.
2. Ibid, p. 1055.
3. Ibid, p. 1059.
4. Ibid, p. 1056.
5. Hansard XVII, p. 298.
6. Hansard XVIII, p. 598.
7. Hansard XIX, p. 36.

Closely connected with the attempts to reduce the estimates were the Radical endeavours to secure redistribution of taxation in the interest of the working classes. Mr. Cobbett (Feb. 18, 1833), presented a resolution to take into consideration the inequalities in taxation. He pointed out the discriminations against the poor; the stamp tax, graduated so that in case of conveyances the poor man paid twenty times as much tax as the rich man on precisely the same sort of property; and the legacy act of 1815 by which duties on legacies and property coming by intestate succession were imposed, beginning at 1 per cent and going to 10 per cent, but leaving all free hold property totally exempt. "If justice had been done when the Honorable Baronet (Peel) came into his estates thirty years ago, £600,000 would have been paid by him to the country for probate and intestate succession duty; if the Honorable Baronet had been taxed as he knew pretty well his children would be, that sum would long since have been applied to public uses." Only in apprenticeships, where the landlords were not involved, had the progressive tax increased in proportion to the increase in wealth. An auction duty of only 7 d. in the pound was imposed on the sale of any "free hold, customary copy-hold, or lease-hold lands, tenements, houses, hereditaments, and any shares in the capital or joint stock of any corporation or chartered company, and of any annuity or sums

of money chartered thereon, and of any ships or vessels, and of any reversionary interest in the public funds, and of any plate or jewels." All other things were to pay 15d. in the pound, while the "careless and generous" nobleman who made the laws was to pay, if he sold his property, 7d. in the pound.

Radicals and government concurred in recognizing the
2.
need for reform; the government claimed that it was working
3.
on the question, but criticized the form of the resolution;
and Mr. Cobbett was compelled, on a technicality, to withdraw
4.
his proposition.

A petition from the mechanics and other inhabitants of Cockermouth (March 1) praying for the repeal of all taxes upon newspapers and other circulating publications was the occasion of a display by Mr. Cobbett of the typical Radical
5.
spirit, though not the typical Radical opinion. Said Mr. Cobbet,

"I am for the repeal of that tax because I am for a repeal of all taxes and because I wish freedom for every man to think, and write, and speak as he pleases, subject, of course,

6

1. Hansard XV, p. 861.
2. Ibid, pp. 868-873.
3. Ibid, p. 868.
4. Ibid, p. 873.
5. Hansard, XVI, p. 2.

to the laws on the subject. (But)....though for the last thirty years, bills, tracts, pamphlets, newspapers, and penny publications have covered the entire country, as a field is covered by a shower of snow, still the increase of crime has not been in the slightest degree prevented. On the contrary, look at the criminal records of the country and see if the increase of crime has not gone on increasing with the increase of knowledge and the circulation of cheap publications.

The Radicals fought the Government's Resolution to continue the Sugar Duties, and lost; they were beaten by a vote of 221 to 155 on Mr. Robinson's motion for the appointment of a select committee to revise taxation with a view to the repeal of the taxes on productive industry and the substitution of a property tax. Sir W. Ingilby's motion (April 26) to reduce the duty on malt to 10 s. a quarter carried by a majority of 10(162 to 152); but the Government outwitted the Radicals and those who had voted with them for reduction, by introducing a resolution four days later, (April 30), "That the deficiency in the revenue which would result from the reduction of the tax on malt and the repeal of the taxes

1. Hansard, XVI, p. 4.
2. Ibid, p. 324.
3. Ibid, p. 1118.
4. Hansard XVII, p. 717.

on houses and windows could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax on property and income....which would at present be inexpedient." The adoption of this resolution rescinded the former action.

1.

Mr. Cobbett next introduced a series of resolutions, (May 3), having as their object such changes in the duties on stamps and on auction sales as "shall cause the Peers, Nobles, Baronets, and other great landlords to pay, in proportion to the amount of their property (subject to these duties) as great an amount in those duties as is paid by the feudholders, accountants, tradesmen, manufacturers, farmers, mechanics, and the rest of the industrious classes of the kingdom; and shall cause in all cases, the rich to pay the same duties, in the same proportion as the poor."

2.

3.

Failing to secure any relief for the poor, Mr. Cobbett resorted to a personal attack upon the leader of the Conservatives. He moved, (May 16), that since Sir Robert Peel had "heaped calamities upon his Majesty's industrious and dutiful people by the resumption of gold payments in 1819 and the abolition of one-pound notes in 1826, plunging the nation into low prices and double taxes....this House prays that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss the Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel from his Majesty's most honorable Privy

4.

Council."

1. Hansard, XVII, p. 833.

3. Ibid, p. 948.

2. Ibid, p. 929.

4. Ibid, p. 1324.

The only English Radicals who supported him were Mr. T. Attwood and Mr. J. Fielden, and Mr. Cobbett was disciplined by a vote of 4 in favor of the measure to 298 against it. The Radical forces came out strongly a little later, (May 21), in support of Sir Samuel Whalley's motion to abolish the House and Window Taxes, though the motion was lost by a large majority.^{1.} As a result of his having voted against the repeal of the malt and window taxes, Sir. J. C. Hobhouse, Secretary for Ireland, lost his seat as member for Westminster, and the radical Colonel de Lacy Evans was returned in his place.^{2.} Dr. Lushington and Mr. Brougham were called on to resign by the inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets and Southwark respectively, but managed to keep their seats. Public meetings in London passed resolutions to refuse to pay those taxes; the Birmingham Political Union petitioned the king to dismiss the ministers; a large public meeting was held, in spite of the government's prohibition, near Cold-bath Fields prison^{3.} to adopt preparatory measures for holding a National Convention, as the only means of maintaining and securing the rights of the people. In the attempt to disperse the crowd, a policeman was killed; and the jury found the defendants not guilty. The Radicals made one

1. Hansard, XVIII, p. 32.

2. Ann. Reg. LXXV, Hist. of Europe, p. 158..

3. Ibid, p. 159..

more attempt (June 18) to equalize taxes, when Mr. Fryer moved for the repeal of the Corn Laws, but were defeated 73
1.
to 47.

On the general question of factory legislation there was some diversity of opinion among the Radicals. This was well exemplified (Feb. 26) when Col. Torrens presented a petition from Bolton in favor of a Ten Hours Limitation Factory Bill and a nine-year age limit for factory workers. In supporting the petition, he said that if this increased the expense of production, the corn-laws could be repealed in compensation.

2. Mr. Fryer of Wolverhampton would cordially support any measure for diminishing the hours of labor from sixteen to ten, when the corn laws were repealed; but until that was done, any alteration would increase instead of amending

2. the miseries of the laboring classes. Mr. Hume considered the long hours of work a consequence of the corn laws and

3. the high price of bread. Mr. T. Attwood favored both the repeal of the corn laws and the enactment of legislation to

4. limit the hours of labor. On the same question, brought up by a similar petition, (Feb. 28), Mr. Cobbett said that the taxation which ground down the wretched parents was to blame for child labor. Mr. O'Connell answered that this

1. Hansard XVIII, p. 976.

2. Hansard, XV, p. 1160.

3. Ibid, p. 1161.

4. Ibid, p. 1163.

was true, but the House ought nevertheless to interfere for
1.
the protection of the children of the poor. Mr. M.

Philips of Manchester prophesied (March 25) that if the
Factory Bill then pending passed, in two years the trade
2.

would be gone from the country. Mr. J. Fielden, himself
a manufacturer, agreed in the necessity for a Bill; but Mr.
Oswald announced that many of his constituents, the pro-
prietors of large cotton manufactories in Glasgow, had de-
puted him to state that if the House passed the Bill as it
at present existed, without inquiry, justice could not be
3.

done them. Mr. Fielden thought further inquiry unnece-
ssary; he knew by experience that legislation was necessary.
4.

Another phase of the religious question disclosed a
difference of opinion among the Radicals. Mr. George Faith-
full proposed (April 16), the following triple motion: first,
that the Church, as by law established, is not recommended
by practical utility; second, that its revenues have always
been subject to legislative enactments; and third, that the
greater part, if not all of those revenues, ought to be
5.

appropriated to the use of the nation. According to Mr.
Faithfull, "The adherents of the church might have their arch-
bishops_and_bishops_in_their_worldly_humility_and_habits_of_

1. Hansard XV, p. 1293.

2. Hansard XVI, p. 1001.

3. Ibid, p. 1002.

4. Hansard XVII, pp. 112-113.

5. Ibid, p. 178.

usefulness so like the apostles and first teachers of Christianity; their archdeacons, deacons, and prebendaries and all their canons and minor canons and all the rest of their over-worked and underpaid functionaries, as long as they liked; provided no man paid for the support of a church to which he did not belong."^{1.} The motion was seconded by Mr. Cobbett, but he was the sole support of Mr. Faithfull, with the exception of Mr. Harvey, a Dissenter, and Mr. Aglionby, who declared themselves favorable to the second and third, but not to the first proposition.^{2.}

The three most important and most distinctively Radical proposals of this session can be disposed of in very few words, chiefly because they were so distinctively Radical that no time need be spent in explaining the hostile attitude of particular members of that faction. Mr. Grotes' resolution (April 25) to adopt the secret ballot in voting, secured 106 ayes against 211 noes.^{3.} The motion of Col. Evans (June 18) to repeal that clause of the Reform Act which imposed a property qualification upon voters, secured 24 supporters with 84 votes opposed.^{4.} Finally, the motion of Mr. Tennyson, (July 23), to repeal the Septennial Act with a

1. Ann. Reg. LXXVI, Hist. of Europe, p. 215.

2. Hansard, XVII, p. 193.

3. Ibid, p. 667.

4. Hansard XVIII, p. 961.

view to shortening the duration of Parliament, was defeated,
though it received 144 votes in its favor.^{1.} Thus the
first session of the First Reform Parliament closed without
having conceded to the Radicals anything but a considerable
portion of its time, and the enforcement upon its attention
of a program which proclaimed a new order of things, and
which was ultimately, though gradually and reluctantly to be
adopted.

In the session of 1834, the Radicals repeated the tactics
which they had used the year before. Col. Evans, in the de-
bate on the address, "complained that the house and window
taxes had not been repealed, applauded our Portugues neu-
trality, expressed the hope that Prussia's commercial re-
lations with other German states would not hurt us, and re-
gretted that he had taken part in supporting the government,
especially as in that house--the reformed House of Commons--
there were still about 100 placemen, pensioners, and sine-
curists."^{2.} Mr. Hume remarked that something was said in
the message of Turkey, Portugal, and regret, but nothing of
poor, tax-ridden England. This preface he followed up by a
string of desultory remarks in his usual style on his usual
^{3.} topics. He then moved as an amendment to the Address,

1. Hansard XIX, p. 1150.

2. Ann. Reg. LXXVI, Hist. of Europe, pp. 1-3.

3. Ibid, p. 8..

"That this House will take into its immediate and serious consideration the state of the church, as regards its temporalities and the maintenance of the clergy, in order to remove the complaints which have arisen from the collection of
1.
tithes and church rates."^{2.} The amendment was negatived,
191 to 39,^{3.} the Radicals not appearing in full strength on
a church question. His attempts to reduce the estimates for
the army and navy met with similar results. Mr. T. Attwood,
of Birmingham, voiced the sentiments of many of the Radicals,
when he said that looking to the state of affairs in the East,
4.
he could not vote for reductions there.

Mr. Rippon's motion (March 13) to relieve the bishops
5.
from their legislative duties received 58 votes. Mr.
Tennyson's motion for leave to bring in a bill to shorten the
duration of Parliament received 41 votes more than it re-
ceived the previous year, though it was lost by 235 against
6.
185, (May 15). Mr. Bulwer's motion to repeal the Stamp
7.
Tax on newspapers was lost, 90 to 58, (May 22). The bill
to remove the political disabilities of the Jews, which was
favored by most of the Radicals, passed the House, June 11,
8.
by a vote of 50 to 14, but on the motion for second reading.

1. Ann. Reg. LXXVI, Hist. of Europe. p. 8.

2. Hansard XXI, p. 83.

3. Ibid, p. 990.

4. Ibid, p. 445.

5. Hansard XXII, p. 153.

6. Hansard XXIII, p. 1085.

7. Ibid, p. 1222..

8. Hansard XXIV, p. 383.

1. in the House of Lords, it was postponed for six months.
The bill for the admission of Dissenters to Oxford and Cam-
bridge Universities, which passed its third reading in the
2. House of Commons, (July 26), by a vote of 164 to 75 was like-
wise thrown out on its second reading in the House of Lords,
3. by a vote of 187 to 85. A step was taken toward the estab-
lishment of a national system of education in the form of a
Parliamentary grant of £20000, and in the following year an
additional grant of £10000 was made to provide training
4. schools for teachers. The Normal school project was later
abandoned. A Board of education was appointed, but a poli-
tical one, changing with the cabinet, and with politicians
5. as members.

The important government measures of this session were
the English Poor Law Bill, the so-called Irish Coercion Bill,
and the Irish Tithe Bill. The first proposed to attack the
problem of increasing pauperism in England by stopping the
granting of outdoor relief with few exceptions, those excep-
tions to be determined by a central commission with large
6. discretionary powers. Francis Place, who acted the part
of general almoner of the Radicals outside of Parliament,

1. House of Lords Journals, LXVI, p. 663.

2. Hansard XXV, p. 653.

3. House of Lords' Journals, LXVI, p. 886.

4. Mrs. Fawcett: Life of Sir Wm. Molesworth, p. 55.

5. Westminster Review, XXXVII, Apr. 1842, "Political Retro-
spect," p. 220.

6. Ann. Reg. LXXVI, Hist. of Europe, p. 222 ff.

favored a law even more stringent than that. "No assistance", said he, "either in money, clothes, or food, should be given by the parish to anyone, in any case whatever, out of the workhouse, some cases of sickness alone excepted, and even
1. then sparingly." The Radicals objected to the provisions of the bill making the mother of an illegitimate child liable for its support, thus releasing the father; and creating a commission which would increase the number of
2. officials and give those officials large discretionary powers.
Their efforts to amend the bill, however, were unavailing, and it became a law.

The previous session had slightly reduced the Irish Es-
3. tablishment. The ministry now proposed to release the state from the trouble of collecting tithes in Ireland, by transferring that agreeable duty to the Irish landlord, who might collect the tithe along with the rent, (if he could),
4. and keep one-fifth of it as commission, (if he could get it). The Irish members opposed it as an insult to their intelligence, since it was not the form of the tithe, but the tithe itself, to which they objected; and some of the Radicals stood
5. with them. Meanwhile, Mr. Ward, member for St. Albans,

1. Wallas, Life of Place, p. 332.

2. Ann. Reg. LXXVI, Hist. of Eur. p. 228.

3. See above, p. 14.

4. Ann. Reg., LXXVI, Hist. of Eur. p. 66.

5. Ibid, p. 68.

moved a resolution, (May 27) declaring the justice and the necessity of depriving the church of Ireland of a part of its temporal possessions.^{1.} The majority of the cabinet feared to negative it, whereupon Mr. Stanley, Colonial Secretary, and Sir. James Graham, Secretary of the Admiralty, resigned,^{2.} followed by the duke of Richmond and the Earl of Ripon.^{3.} Their places were supplied immediately, and on June 2, Lord Althorp informed the House that the king had appointed a lay commission to inquire into the state of ecclesiastical Ireland.^{4.} Mr. Ward refused to withdraw his motion, though Lord John Russell, now in Althorp's place as leader in the House, said that the ministry meant to act on the spirit of the motion, if the committee report made it advisable.

While the Tithe Bill was in debate, the second measure for Ireland came up, government asking for a renewal of the terms of the Coercion Act of 1833.^{5.} The ministry itself was divided on a clause which was especially obnoxious to the Irish, viz., the provision for the prevention of public meetings; and one member of the cabinet, Mr. Littleton, disclosed this difference of opinion to Mr. O'Connell, in the hope of persuading him to withdraw his repeal candidate from

1. Ann. Reg. LXXVI, Hist. of Europe, p. 37.

2. Ibid, p. 42.

3. Ibid, p. 43.

4. Ibid, p. 48.

5. Ibid, p. 100.

1. Wexford. But the ministry gave in to the wishes of Lord
2. Grey, the prime minister; and Lord Althorp, who had opposed
the clause, introduced the Bill with the clause, in the
3. House. Mr. O'Connell immediately threatened to disclose
4. the whole proceeding of the ministry, and Lord Althorp,
knowing that he would appear to be introducing a measure
to which he was opposed, resigned his seat in the cabinet.
4. Lord Grey, feeling unable to continue the government without
5. Althorp, resigned also. Lord Melbourne, the Home Secre-
6. tary, was then elevated to the premiership, Lord Althorp
7. 8. came back, and the obnoxious clause was withdrawn, The
repealers failed to secure other concessions which they de-
9. manded, but the bill became a law. Then the Tithe Bill
was taken up again, passed the House with some amendments
10. proposed by the Irish party, but was rejected by the House of
11. Lords as too much of a concession to the Irish.

1. Ann. Reg. LXXVI, Hist. of Europe, p. 103.
2. Ibid, p. 111-Speech of Joseph Hume.
3. Ibid, p. 111.
4. Ibid, p. 114.
5. Ibid, p. 115.
6. Ibid, p. 123.
7. Ibid, p. 130.
8. Ibid, p. 113.
9. Ibid, p. 145.
10. Ibid, p. 151.
11. Ibid, p. 161.

A graphic, though partisan (Tory) account of these proceedings in regard to the Irish Church, and of what followed them, is given in Blackwood's Magazine:

"The sober-minded friends of freedom rapidly fell off...Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Ripon, influenced by feelings of true patriotism, broke off upon the occasion of the Irish Church Bill. A dark intrigue.....next led to the resignation of Lord Grey. There remained only the Radical rump under the guidance of a nobleman worthy of better things--Lord Melbourne.....At length Lord Melbourne, aware that matters could not go on as they were, waited upon the king.....and candidly acknowledged that he required to recruit his forces in the extreme Radical camp, and that the sacrifice of a large portion of the Irish Church and the extinction of the Protestant religion in a great part of that island, were the conditions of such an alliance.....The monarch instantly, and in the spirit of his ancestors, took his part--he positively refused to be a party to any such attempts; and calling the hero of Waterloo to his councils, threw himself without reserve into the arms of that noble party which through every danger and obloquy had boldly stood by their country, and with whose ascendency all the brightest glories, as well as the happiest periods of its history, have been identified."

1. The Fall of the Melbourne Ministry, Blackwood's, Jan. 1845, XXXVII, p. 36.

"The hero of Waterloo" advised that Sir Robert Peel be called upon to form a cabinet, and that the first Reform
Parliament be dissolved, and an election held,^{1.} The Annual Register presents quite an elaborate justification for this
^{2.} proceeding:

"The existing House of Commons had been elected under the intoxication of the Reform Bill, when the electors were in a state of unnatural excitement, and lavished their maudlin embraces, like other drunken persons, on all who had assisted in administering that overpowering draught. In that house the supremacy of the former ministers was overwhelming and inexpugnable; a majority, which rendered all opposition hopeless, moved as his majesty's government directed them; consenting even to recall today what they had voted yesterday. The country had returned to a more sober state of mind; the mutual relations which bind society together had begun to resume their accustomed sway; public opinion had been disabused of the false glory which had been shed around the great organic change; and apprehensions had already become prevalent that there was more need of the rein than of the spur. But the House of Commons remained unaltered, and the dismissed ministers had reason to hope that their successors would find it unmanageable. The sources of in-

1. Wallas, Life of Place, pp. 335-6.

2. Ann. Reg. LXXVII, Hist. of Europe, p. 7.

fluence, which unavoidably belong to every executive government, might, no doubt, operate upon some members, and the ferocity of others might be somewhat tamed by a desire to avoid the necessity of standing a new election; but it seemed impossible that a body so completely wedded to all the plans and principles of the late ministry could easily transfer its troth to a new wooer, or allow the new government to proceed without forcing upon it measures which it could not adopt. These views, or views like these, led the ministry to have recourse to a general election."

Thus the Radicals, with all the other members, on the advice of "the hero", went back to their constituencies. The record they had made, for which they now had to account, may be found with embellishments on the enemy's pages:

"The conduct, the acts of the Radicals have amply vindicated their title to the execrable distinction of being classed with the Jacobins of France, by future and impartial historians. If half the measures which they have proposed, . . . had been carried into effect, they would ere now have torn the Empire in pieces, and precipitated us into the gulf of Revolution. The Irish demagogues would have dismembered the Empire, and established an independent legislature--in other words, a hostile Republic--almost within sight of the shores of Britain. The English and Scotch revolutionists would have

pulled down the church establishment in both countries, and delivered over a Christian State to the dreams of enthusiasm, or the wretchedness of infidelity.....the repeal of the Corn Laws would have spread distress far and wide through the whole agricultural classes, and through them have depressed immeasurably the commercial interests.....; they would have destroyed the independence of the hereditary Legislature by the creation of a hundred new Peers and reduced the Crown to the disgrace of itself revoking the beneficence of past
1.
sovereigns."

1. The Present State of Parties, Blackwoods', June 1834,
Vol. XXXV, pp. 882-898, esp. p. 886.

Chapter III

The Second Reformed Parliament, Feb. 1835-July 1837.

The elections of 1832 had returned 179 Conservatives^{1.} and 479 Liberals; the elections of 1835 returned 275 Conservatives^{2.} and 383 Liberals. Apparently, Sir Robert Peel should have resigned without attempting to form a government. The Conservatives, however, reasoned differently. The so-called "Liberal Party" they claimed was not a party at all,^{3.} but a group of parties of diverse principles,. Among these parties were, first, the Conservative Whigs, who like the Conservatives, "aim to preserve the throne, the peerage, and the church, while they remove all abuses and effect all needful reforms, but happen to prefer Lord Melbourne to Sir Robert Peel." Second were the "Radical Whigs, who are friends to the ballot, triennial Parliaments, cutting down of the church, and enlargement of the present constituency by expunging the rate-paying clause from the Reform Bill." Third were the Radicals, or Ultras, who stood for annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and disestablishment of the church. Fourth were those who represented the desire for a republic. Within these classes were included the Irish Liberals--repealers and non-repealers.

1. See above, p. 5.

2. McCalmont, Parl., Poll. Book. p. 332B..

3. London Times, Jan. 12, 1835.

In the numbers of the second and third classes, both of which have been referred to in the preceding chapters as Radical, the election made some changes.^{1.} Four seats that had been Radical in 1832 were now given to conservative Liberals: Brighton, Carlisle, Carmarthenshire, and Richmond. Twenty-three Radicals were displaced by Tories at Andover, Berkshire, Boston, Bridport, Colchester, Denbighshire, Durham, Gloucestershire, Halifax, Hull, Leicester, Ludlow, Maidstone, Norfolk, Ripon, Rochdale, Sunderland, Surrey, Warrington, Wigan, Wiltshire, and Worcester. On the other hand, the Radicals made only four gains, and those four were from Liberals: Finsbury, London, Southwark, and Wolverhampton. The Tories pointed out the fact that the Radical successes were chiefly in the large towns, where rents were so high that the £10 franchise was relatively less than in the smaller towns.^{2.} Notwithstanding their losses, the Radicals were

in a better position than before; for thanks to the losses of the Liberals, that party could consider itself in the majority only by including Radicals and Irish. Francis Place, seeing this, concocted a plan "to induce the reformers under himself, the Whigs under Lord John Russell, and the Irish under Daniel O'Connell to concur in such matters as were

1. See election tables below, pp. 96-100. Computed from returns in McCalmont.

2. The Metropolitan Elections, Fraser's Mag., Feb. 1835, p. 234.

common to all those parties, and agree to sink minor differences and work together for such objects as the three should point out. There were two circumstances on which it seemed essential they should concur, the Speaker and the Address.^{1.}"

The Whigs also saw the necessity for concurrence, and Lord John Russell, Whig Leader in the House, issued circulars asking his friends to meet him on February 18, at Lord Lichfield's house. Mr. Warburton forwarded a bundle of these circulars to Mr. O'Connell with a private note asking that gentleman to address and send them to his Irish supporters.^{2.} When Lord John heard of it, he was alarmed, and but for the strong remonstrance of Lord Duncannon, he would have written to Mr. O'Connell in terms which would not have encouraged cooperation. There were 260 present, and 20 absent whose names were down. O'Connell, who declared it was the most delightful evening he ever passed in his life, publicly acknowledged John Russell as his leader, and the Radicals ^{3.} were all present but Hume."

The fruits of the "Lichfield Compact" appeared the next day, Feb. 19, the first day of the session, when Peel was beaten by a coalition majority of 316 over 306 on the quest-

1. Wallas, Life of Place, p. 335.

2. Walpole, Lord John Russell I, pp. 228-235.

3. Ibid, pp. 228-235.

1.

ion of the Speaker. But the ministry did not resign. The Tory Press expatiated on the difficulties that would follow their resignation:

"How would the 316 proceed? In that miscellaneous and heterogeneous body, we have Sir George Grey and Mr. Wakley; the governor of the Bank (Mr. Pattison of London) and Mr. O'Connell; Mr. Charles Grant, and Mr. Roebuck.....A distinct and clear line of policy must be adopted, and that policy must be either Whig, or else Radical. In support of that policy, the whole miscellaneous body now forming the opposition in the House of Commons must be united. None could be spared.....Lord Lansdowne's and Lord Carlisle's sons, on the one side, must unite closely and intimately with Mr. Wakley of the Lancet office and Mr. Williams of Watling Street. O'Connell and his tail, Warburton and Hume and all their set, Silk Buckingham, Roebuck, and Kennedy, all must be included in the arrangement. But how is it possible for this coalition to be formed without an abandonment of principle ten times more foul than that which is falsely imputed to Sir Robert Peel. The very names of O'Connell, Hume, Grote, Tennyson, and Roebuck are all identified with plans and propositions which have been again and again scouted by Lord Melbourne and the Whigs. Is the Ballot, for instance,

1. Hansard, XXVI, pp. 56-61.

to be conceded by Mr. Grote, by Hume, O'Connell, and all of the Radical party; or is Lord John Russell to eat up his Devonshire speeches against it, now hardly four weeks old. So of Triennial Parliaments. Mr. Tennyson may be induced to cushion the question, but will all the hundred Radicals from the Scotch boroughs and from the English ten-pounders, be thus quieted on this favorite topic? Does Mr. O'Connell mean to retract his phrase, 'the cant of national faith,' or do Messrs. Denison and Pattison intend to fight under his banner without any such retraction? The Corn Laws, also, will Hume and the free traders join an administration which cannot do without them, and yet stipulate nothing on this point? O'Connell and nearly fifty of his followers are pledged and sworn never to rest until they have secured the independence of Ireland; Hume, Roebuck, and their squad are equally engaged to bring about the independence of the Canadas. Is the Empire, then, to be forthwith dismembered; or are these gentry to swallow, in the face of the country, all their ten times recorded pledges?"^{1.}

A week later, (Feb. 26), government was defeated a second time on the address in answer to the King's speeck. Lord

1. Prospects of the Ministry, Fraser's Mag., Moh. 1835, XI,
pp. 190-198.

Morpeth had moved as an amendment that these words be inserted, ".....we trust that his Majesty's councils will be directed in a spirit of well-considered and effective Reform; and that the Liberal and comprehensive policy which restored to the people the right of choosing their Representatives and which provided for the emancipation of all persons held in slavery in his Majesty's colonies and possessions abroad, will with the same enlarged views, place, without delay, our municipal corporations under vigilant popular control, remove all those unfounded grievances of the Protestant Dissenters, and correct those abuses in the Church which impair its efficiency in England, disturb society in Ireland, and lower the character of the establishment in both countries. To represent to his Majesty that his Majesty's faithful Commons, lament that the progress of these, and other reforms, has been interrupted and endangered by the unnecessary dissolution of a Parliament, earnestly intent upon the vigorous prosecution of measures to which the wishes of the people were most anxiously and justly directed."^{1.} 309^{2.} voted for the amendment, 302 against it. One month later, (March 26), government was beaten a third time, 246 to 136,

1. Hansard XXVI, p. 172.
2. Ibid, p. 415.

when Mr. Tooke moved an address to his Majesty, beseeching him to grant his royal charter of incorporation to the University of London, with no other restrictions than against conferring degrees in divinity and in medicine. Still they remained.

One reason for this persistence may be found expressed in a letter of Lord Kenyon to Peel in March. Kenyon wrote, "No independent House of Lords will exist if you resign. It may be swamped or not, but independent it will no longer be, but will pass every measure, however infamous, which the House of Commons sends up".^{1.}

Meanwhile, the ministry had, among other reforms, introduced a bill for the commutation of tithes in Ireland into a rent charge. (March 24) When Mr. Ward, in the previous session, had moved a resolution declaring the justice and necessity of depriving the Church of Ireland of part of its wealth, the late ministry had announced the appointment of a lay commission of inquiry, and the intention of acting on the spirit of the motion, if the committee report made it advisable.^{2.} Now, (March 1835), that committee had not yet reported; nevertheless (March 30) Lord John himself moved "that the House resolve itself into committee for the pur-

1. Hansard, XXVII, p. 301.

2. Parker: Peel's Papers II, p. 295.

3. Ann. Reg. LXXVII, Hist. of Europe, p. 143

4. See above, pp. 32-33.

pose of considering the expediency of applying any surplus revenue of the Church of Ireland, which may not be required for the spiritual wants of the members of that church, to the religious and moral instruction of all classes of the community."^{1.}

In one sense, it looked as if Lord John Russell were demanding that the conservatives commit themselves on a question which the previous ministry had refused to face directly. On the other hand, the Whigs had run into the question unprepared, while the Conservatives knew that in bringing up a Tithe Bill before the report of the commission was made, they would have to take some stand on the surplus question. Nevertheless, they brought in the bill. As Lord John said, Sir Robert Peel, without waiting for a report, had declared that he would in no case consent to the application of church property to any but ecclesiastical purposes; he himself, (Lord John), was equally entitled to say that even if the commissioners report no surplus, the surplus shall nevertheless be applied to particular objects.^{2.}

In all the long and heated debate, probably the most significant, almost pathetic utterance, in the light of future events, was that of William Ewart Gladstone, Conservative

1. Ann. Reg. LXXXII, Hist. of Eur. p. 172.

2. Ibid., LXXVII, p. 176.

member for Newark, when he said:

"You propose to give up the Protestant Establishments; if so, why not abandon the political government of Ireland and concede the repeal of the Legislative Union?..... I hope I shall never live to see the day when such a system shall be adopted in this country; for the consequences of it to public men will be lamentable beyond all description."^{1.}"

The debate was closed by Sir Robert Peel, who announced that there appeared to be four courses open to him; first, to leave things as they are; second, to determine and take a surplus; third, to destroy the establishment or establish all; or fourth, to assert an unprofitable right to apply an imaginary surplus to an unexplained purpose. He was prepared,
^{2.} he said, to adopt the first.

The resolution of Lord John passed, 322 to 289; and Lord John immediately asked the House to pledge itself to another resolution that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment, which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution. The second carried (April 7), by
^{3.} a majority of 27--258 to 285; and on April 8, Sir Robert
^{4.} Peel resigned.

1. Mrs. Grote: Life of George Grote, p. 97.
2. Ann. Reg. LXXVII, Hist. of Eur., p. 212.
3. Hansard XXVII, p. 969.
4. Ann. Reg. LXXVII, Hist. of Eur., p. 230.

Lord Melbourne was recalled, and Lord John, leader in
the House, was given the Home Office. The relations be-
tween the Radicals and Whigs were now quite different from
what they had been in 1833. The Tories summed up the situ-
ation as follows: "In the first Reformed Parliament in 1833
and 1834, these gentlemen (the Radicals), then mustering
about 40 or 50 in number, enjoyed entire liberty, but com-
paratively little importance. They were allowed to say and
do what they liked, but no one minded what they said or did.
The Whigs were so strong, and Althorp was so good humored
that they just cut whatever capers they pleased; and the
ministry passed their measures scarcely caring whether these
good friends of theirs voted with them or not.

But in 1835, the case was very different. The new
leader of the House, Lord John, had not a majority of more
than 40 or 50, even with all the Radicals in his array. Con-
sequently these gentlemen now became of great importance; and
if they had properly used their advantage, they might have
2.
committed the Whigs to some installments of Radicalism".

An interesting question was whether or not the new
ministry would include any of the Radical or Irish supporters

1. Walpole: Lord John Russell, I.

2. Close of the Session of 1840; Frasers' Mag., Sept. 1840,
XXII, pp. 373-381, esp.p. 379.

of the Whigs. O'Connell, it appears, was actually offered an office, at Lord John's suggestion, but the offer was abandoned in deference to the objections of the king. Lord John then told O'Connell that he himself would resign, if O'Connell considered his own exclusion as an act of injustice, but ^{1.} O'Connell very handsomely set the suggestion aside. He was not alone in behaving handsomely on this occasion of the return of the Whigs to power. Hume wrote to Place (Apr. 24), that it was his wish "not to do anything as regards the tax upon newspapers until we know what is to be done by the ministers," and meanwhile "any petitions got up or stir made might not do good but harm if ministers really mean to repeal, of which we can have no knowledge until they all return ^{2.} (from re-election)".

Place replied, "If you had said we must stir because we have no knowledge, etc., it would have been rational," and he reminded Hume that Althorp had claimed that he had once proposed the measure and the House showed no feeling ^{3.} on it, so he did not press it. His words seem to have had some effect, for on the 8th of May, Hume went as part of a deputation to Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and they were told "as plainly as any courtier could do who

1. Walpole: Lord John Russell, I, p. 243.

2. Wallas: Life of Place, p. 339. Hume to Place, Apr. 24, 1835.

3. Ibid, p. 340. Place to Hume, May 2, 1835.

did not use the words, that we should never have the Stamp Duty repealed, as long as he had the power to prevent it."^{1.} However, when Mr. Bulwer, member for Marylebone, introduced the motion for repeal, (Aug. 21), the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted the proposal to be right in principle, resisting it almost exclusively from considerations drawn from the state of the finances; and pledged himself to the principle, if he only had a surplus.^{2.}

As in the case of the stamp duty, so on all purely Radical measures, the Radicals seem to have failed to pin the Whigs down to any definite promise of support. When Lord Alvanley asked Lord Melbourne how the ministry stood with regard to Mr. O'Connell--what concessions they had made to secure his support, and the Duke of Buckingham asked if they were prepared to bring forward a measure with respect to tithes founded on that resolution to appropriate the surplus, Lord Melbourne answered that he had made no terms with O'Connell, but considered himself pledged to the last.^{3.} Unhampered then, by promises to the Radicals, the Whigs took up their own program.

The first item in it was the Municipal Corporations Bill for England. The Reform Bill of 1832 had established a

1. Wallas: Life of Place, Hume to Place, May 12, 1835, p.339.
2. Ann. Reg., LXXVII, Hist. of Europe, p. 356.
3. Ibid, p. 237.

uniform Parliamentary franchise which permitted many to vote who were shut out from the municipal franchise, which was by no means uniform. The government of the great towns of England was in the hands of a small, frequently dwindling body of "freemen", who monopolized offices and privileges.^{1.}

The bill proposed to make occupancy and the payment of rates the sole qualification for the exercise of the franchise^{2.}

and eligibility to office,^{3.} The bill passed with few

changes, the Conservatives failing in their attempts to save^{4.}

privileges to the freemen, and Mr. Grote in his effort to amend the bill so as to give power to town councils to pro-

vide for vote by ballot.^{5.} But the Lords modified the bill

in the interests of the oligarchy, introducing aldermen,

elected for life into every corporation; directing the e-

lection of common councillors from the ranks of the largest

rate-payers; preserving the political and commercial privi-

leges of churchmen; confining the management of church pro-

perty to those members of the Council who were members of

the Church of England; and making town clerks irremovable^{6.}

during good behavior. Roebuck declaimed against it, and

1. Ann. Reg. LXXVII, Hist. of Europe, pp. 242-243.

2. Walpole: Lord John Russell, I, p. 253.

3. Ann. Reg. LXXXII, Hist. of Europe, p. 264.

4. Ibid, pp. 255-257.

5. Ibid, pp. 261-2.

6. Ann. Reg., LXXXII, Hist. of Europe. pp. 265-283.

wanted the ministers to take up the struggle to deprive the
Lords of power, and reenact the whole bill. Lord John,
however, was conciliatory and a compromise was reached in
which the Lords kept most of their amendments. The result
was a Bill which the Radicals considered "scarcely a step
toward providing more uniform and efficient machinery for
local business.....It left the counties as it found them, and
and towns as it found them, excepting 178; and restricted the
objects of municipal government to paving and lighting.....
Even to the extent of these limited powers it made no pro-
vision for their undisturbed exercise; and thus the curious
spectacle has been seen of old paving and lighting boards
and new Town Councils both levying rates for the same object
in the same town, and spending the money of rate-payers in
the courts of law. The needful powers for building bridges,
widening streets, and founding schools or hospitals were
withheld; indeed the old corporate towns were robbed of privi-
leges of great value to increase the power of the church,-
as in Liverpool, where the people had had a voice in the
nomination of their own clergy, clause 139 now directed all
vacancies to be supplied by the bishop of the diocese. The
great giant abuse of all, the corporation of London, was
2.
left untouched.

1. Ann. Reg. LXXVII, Hist. of Eur., p. 286; Walpole: Lord John Russell, I, p. 255; & Leader: Roebuck, p. 69.
2. Political Retrospect; Westminster Rev. Apr. 1842, XXXVII, p. 219.

The government introduced the Irish Church Bill, (June 26) which provided for the composition of tithes into an annual rent charge, as Peel's had done, and the appropriation of the surplus.^{1.} The Radicals divided on the clause which remitted to the Irish Church the million which had been advanced to it until it should be able to collect the tithes,^{2.} but the ministry managed to secure a majority, and^{3.} the bill passed the Commons (Aug. 12). The House of Lords speedily agreed to the composition of the tithe, but threw^{4.} out the appropriation clause. The house refused to compromise,^{4.} so the bill was abandoned.

This aroused a storm of protest from the Radicals, who "insisted that the House of Lords ought to be suppressed altogether, or so reformed in its constitution as to be placed under the direct control of the people by means of^{5.} popular election." These protests were the basis for the later agitation between this session and the session of 1836.

The few measures which originated with the Radicals received scant courtesy from their friends who held office only by counting them in the party. Mr. Grote's motion for

1. Ann. Reg., LXXVII, Hist. of Europe, p. 289..
2. Ibid, p. 308.
3. Ibid, p. 309.
4. Ibid, p. 315.
5. Ibid, p. 365.

adopting the ballot in Parliamentary elections was rejected
1.
by a vote of 317 to 144; Sir Samuel Whalley's motion to
2.
abolish the House and Window Tax, by 204 to 16; Mr. Maxwell's
motion to regulate the wages of Hand-Loom Weavers by 129 to
3.
41. A bill prohibiting the running of trains between 11
a.m. and 2 p.m. on Sundays--not introduced by a Radical,
however--was made the occasion of a characteristic outburst
by Mr. Roebuck of Bath:

"I shall oppose this clause, because it is intended by
it to interfere with the enjoyment of the working and poorer
classes, while it leaves untouched the recreations of the
higher classes. I went a short distance out of town a Sunday or two ago, and I will narrate to the House what I saw. On that morning I went first into Picadilly. At twelve o'clock, the first person I met was the Duke of Wellington on horseback. I went into Hyde Park, and there were some men watering the drive for the comfort of the refined classes that afternoon. A little further on, at Knightsbridge, I found the soldiers exercising, and their officers in arms. I pursued my journey over Hammersmith Bridge, and there met with Lord Chief Justice on horseback, taking a ride into the country. At three o'clock I arrived at Hampton Court, and

1. Hansard XXVIII, p. 471.
2. Ibid, p. 695.
3. Hansard XXIX, p. 1183.

there found the right honorable baronet, the member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel). Do I blame any of these illustrious personages for what they were doing? I was doing the same thing as themselves. They had as much right to travel on Sundays for their health and amusement as I have, and so have the poor. The plain fact is, we meddle too much with
1.
one another."

Throughout the session of 1835, the Radicals had maintained some degree of organization. They had an organ of expression in "The London and Westminster Review", which was formed by the amalgamation of the Radical "Westminster Review" founded by Bentham and the elder Mill in 1824, with "The London Review" founded in 1834, supported financially by Sir William Molesworth, and edited by John Stuart Mill, later (1837), the publication was taken by John Mill, who kept it until 1840, when it changed hands and became known
2.
again as "The Westminster". In 1835 Sir William Molesworth and John Temple Leader took a house together in Eaton Square, where they fed and entertained their Radical friends.
3.
In addition to their attempts to keep the Radicals together, they also tried to get all reformers together, Whig as well as Radical, in a Liberal Club. A provisional committee con-----

1. Leader: Roebuck, pp. 68-9.

2. Mrs. Fawcett: Life of Molesworth, pp. 58-64.

3. Ibid, p. 70.

sisting of Whigs and Radicals--the latter including O'Connell--a bitter pill for the Whigs--was appointed; and six hundred members, among whom were most of the members of the cabinet
1. enrolled. Molesworth was delighted. He wrote to his mother (Feb. 1836): "Our success is certain. It will be the best club in town, and the effect will be to break up
2. the Whig party by giving the best of them to the Radicals."

"But Sir William's confident prediction that the Radicals would absorb the Whigs", comments Mrs. Fawcett, "was doomed to disappointment. The process of absorption was in the other direction. The Radical party began to melt away and the philosophical Radicals especially quickly approached the
2. vanishing point."

The few faithful remaining Radicals did all in their power to keep themselves before the public during the recess of Parliament from June 1835 to January 1836. Mr. Roebuck announced his intention in the next session of moving for leave to bring in a bill for the reform of the House of Lords, taking away the veto power and substituting a suspensive power, so that when a bill passed the House and was rejected by the Lords, if it passed again in the same session and received the royal assent, it should become law. Mr. Rippon,

1. Mrs. Fawcett: Life of Molesworth, p. 75.

2. Ibid., p. 74.

member for Gateshead, gave notice that he would bring in a bill to remove the clergy from the House of Lords; and Mr. Hume extended his wrath even to the ceremonial observances which prevailed between peers and Commons; for example, in a conference the two bits of paper were exchanged with the lords seated and covered, the Commons standing bareheaded.^{1.} Mr. O'Connell toured Scotland, demanding that the House of Lords be changed into an elective body.^{2.}

In preparation for the session of 1836, Mr. Roebuck proposed a plan for the twenty staunch Radicals who had survived the union with the Whigs, to govern England. He pointed out that this was made possible by the fact that the great parties were so evenly balanced that a dozen votes would turn the scale. He suggested that the Radicals continue their support of the Whigs on the promise of the latter to repeal the Stamp Duties and to leave the Ballot an open question; if this was refused, the Radicals should abstain from voting on any no-confidence motion proposed by the Tories.^{3,} The promise was not given; but the Radicals, it will be seen, did not stand by their resolution.

The second session of the second Reformed Parliament opened on Feb. 4, 1836. The speech from the throne announced

1. *Anna Reg.*, LXXVII, pp. 365-366.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 367-371.

3. Leader: Roebuck, p. 74.

that attention would be given to five questions: first, to the Church of England--the ecclesiastical establishment, the relief of the tithe system from fluctuations and objections, and the remedy of grievances of dissenters; second, to the Church in Ireland, with the intention of rendering a just settlement of the tithe question; third, to the passage of a municipal corporation bill for Ireland similar to that which had been given to England and Scotland; fourth, to the consideration of the question of poor relief in Ireland; and fifth, to better provision for the administration of justice
1. in Ireland.

The king wanted to let the Tithe and Municipal Bills drop until the Irish Poor Laws had been settled. O'Connell wanted to let the Irish Tithe and Appropriation Bill drop until a good Church Rate Bill for England should be passed, which would throw the entire burden of building and repairing churches on the churches themselves, and serve as a precedent for Ireland. He expressed his regret that the ministers felt bound to support the appropriation clause, claiming that "if there were a proper deduction from the burden of the tithe, there would for the present be no surplus, and it is really too bad to risk on such a point a Ministry who are for the first time in history conquering the anti-Saxon spirit

1. Walpole: Russell I, p. 267..

in Ireland, and adding eight millions to the King's subjects." The Municipal Corporation Bill for Ireland he wanted introduced as before, with few changes.^{1.}

The Corporation Bill was introduced, and passed the House, (March 28) by a majority of 61-260 to 199, " But when it got into the House of Lords, the majority of that assembly did what the minority of the lower House had vainly wished to do. Never, perhaps was any measure so extensively changed in its passage through that House. Out of 140 clauses which the bill contained, 106 were virtually or actually thrown out of it, while 18 fresh clauses were introduced. That the government should accept a measure thus mutilated, after the pledge they had given, was out of the question." They suggested a compromise which was rejected by the Lords, and the bill ~~us~~ consequently dropped.^{3.} The Radicals had suggested instead an "organic change in the House of Lords;" therefore the Annual Register could conclude that "the only positive result was, that the time was not arrived when the House of Peers should sink down into a chamber for registering the decrees of the Commons."^{4.}
~~-----~~^{5.}

1. Walpole: Russell I, p. 285.

2. Ann. Reg. LXXVIII, Hist. of Europe, p. 43.

3. Molesworth: History of England, 1830-1874, p. 433.

4. Ann. Reg. LXXVIII, Hist. of Eur., p. 52.

5. Ibid, p. 64.

The Irish Tithe Bill, similar to that of the late ministry, except that it provided for a commission to estimate the surplus, make changes, etc., passed the House 300 to 261; Mr. O'Connell supporting it, and a few ultra-radical Dissenters like Colonel D. W. Harvey objecting to any compromise which required payment of any tithes and demanding disestablishment. The Lords passed the first part, struck out the appropriation clause, and raised the minimum stipend ^{1.} to £300. In that shape, the bill was rejected by the ^{2.} House by a vote of 260 to 231, (Aug. 2, 1836).

A bill for the voluntary commutation of tithes in England ^{3.} passed both houses; as did also the bill to relieve Dissenters from the necessity of celebrating their marriages according to the form of the Church of England, and to establish a system of registration of marriages, births, and ^{4.} deaths.

On the 6th of May, Mr. Spring Rice brought forward the bill which Mr. Francis Place feared: to lower the newspaper tax from 4d. to 1d., enforce the laws stringently against unstamped publications, and apply them to pamphlets as well ^{5.} as to newspapers. Thus many who were now evading the law and selling their papers for one penny, or who had re-----

1. Ann. Reg. LXXVII, Hist. of Eur., p. 65.

2. Hansard XXXV, p. 855.

3. Ann. Reg., LXXVIII, Hist. of Eur., p. 111.

4. Ibid, p. 134.

5. Ibid, p. 234.

sorted to pamphlets instead of newspapers, would be caught
1.
and forced to charge an additional penny for the stamp.

Most of the Radicals, in spite of Place's displeasure, voted
with the government, and the bill passed, June 20, by a vote
2.
of 241 to 208.

The strictly Radical propositions of this session met
with little success, as usual. Mr. Ewart's motion (Feb. 5)
to limit the hours of business, was supported by 51 and
3.
opposed by 233; Mr. Hume's motion to put an end to fees for
the officers of the House was rejected 93 to 17; such Radicals
as Mr. T. Mttwood, Mr. D'Eyncourt (Tennyson), Major
Fancourt, G. Fielden, W. Hutt, and D. O'Connor, voting against
4.
him. 43 favored the reduction of the army by 5000, 126
5.
voted against it. 51 favored the registration of voters
6.
on the motion of Mr. T. Duncombe, and 154 opposed it. The
response to Mr. Harvey's motion for a committee to inquire
7.
into the Pension List was 146 ayes and 268 noes; the ayes
on Mr. Rippon's motion that the Bishop's presence in the
House of Lords is injurious to religion, were 53, the noes
8.
180. 38 voted for, and 135 against Mr. T. Duncomb's pro-

1. Wallas: Place, p. 349.
2. Hansard XXXIV, p. 612.
3. Hansard XXXI, p. 116.
4. Ibid, p. 224.
5. Hansard XXXII, p. 219.
6. Ibid, p. 1174.
7. Ibid, p. 1240.
8. Hansard XXXIII, p. 320.

position that where a landlord compounds for poor rates and taxes, the tenant shall not by this be disqualified from
1.

being registered as a voter. 44 voted aye and 82 no on
Mr. Charles Buller's amendment of the Establishment Bill
to keep the income of the Archbishop of Canterbury at

2.
£8000 a year until parochial instruction was provided for.

88 voted aye on Mr. Grote's annual motion for leave to
bring in a bill to establish vote by ballot, and 139 voted
3.

no.. The bill to remove the Civil Disabilities of the
4.

Jews passed on the third reading--ayes 44, noes 13; but
5.

the Lords did not take it up.

Mr. Leader states that "the non fulfillment of political expectations led to some mutual recriminations in the ranks of the Radicals. Tait in his Edinburgh Magazine had long before remonstrated against their want of cohesion and cooperation. They were impotent because of fatal isolation, each one giving himself the airs of a leader, and claiming
6.

to take his own course." Place wrote to Roebuck: "The
Lords altered the Municipal Bill. They rejected the pre-
amble, put another in its place, and made a new bill of it.

They did all it was possible for them to do in their own

1. Hansard XXXIII, p. 472.

2. Hansard XXXIV, p. 218.

3. Ibid, pp. 837-8.

4. Ibid, p. 1238.

5. Ann. Reg., LXXVIII, Hist. of Eur., p. 208.

6. Leader: Roebuck, p. 79.

House to insult the Commons, and yet not one man was found to move that the Bill be rejected. They let the Lords act like lords and masters, and they conducted themselves humbly like their liveried servants.^{1.}"

Thus the second session of the second Reformed Parliament gave slight encouragement to the Radical cause. In preparation for the third session, the several parties held political meetings all over the country. Among these affairs, an important Radical meeting was the dinner given by the reformers of Bath to the representatives of that city. The leading Radicals of the country were invited. Mr. Roebuck, the principal speaker, expressed what he considered to be the orthodox Radical attitude toward the government.

"We have not," said he, "asked the Whig government to bring forward the question of the ballot, or the extension of the suffrage, or the repeal of the rate-paying clauses, or the reform of the House of Lords. We only request, that when any of these important measures are brought before the House of Commons, every member of the government shall be free to give a conscientious vote."^{3.}

1. Leader: Roebuck, p. 83. Place to Roebuck, Oct. 3, 1836.

2. Ann. Reg. LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., p. 11.

3. Ibid, p. 12.

Sir William Molesworth said he should be sorry to see the Tories in power, " but if, in order to keep a Whig party in power it is necessary that the members of the popular party should cooperate with them in doing nothing--should suppress their opinions, should suspend their principles....then, I contend, the sacrifice is too great an one....It is said that we ought to overlook minor differences of opinion--to avoid topics that produce disunion--to obtain as much as we can, and rejoice....But is the ballot merely a minor difference of opinion? Is the repeal of the rate-paying clauses--is an extension of the suffrage--is an abolition of church rates--of the Irish Church--of the corn laws--is a reform of the army--is a reform of the House of Lords--are all these, I ask, questions of minor importance?"^{1.}

Mr. Leader, as an antidote to this speech, reaffirmed the desire of the Radicals to support the ministers whenever possible. "Do these men" (the Tories), said he, "foolishly imagine that the Radicals will oppose good measures, because they are not so comprehensive as they should be?"^{2.}

This same sentiment, deprecatory of the return of the Tories to power, and reassuring to the Whigs of the intention of the Radicals to do nothing more dangerous than they had done, was echoed at the banquet given by the Middlesex

1. Ann. Reg. LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., p. 12.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

reformers for their representatives, Mr. Byng and Mr. Hume, in the Drury Lane theatre. Mr. Grote remarked that "If Sir Robert Peel is to defer his return to power till he is helped into it by the Radicals, he will find the interval sufficiently long and tedious.....If the ministry look for allies and fellow laborers in carrying out the work of reform, they will find none more zealous or more constant than the men who hold radical opinions. If they seek for other service than this--if they claim passive and servile acquiescence in all their propositions--if they cast their plans of amendment on a diminutive and contemptible scale for the purpose of conciliating those ambiguous waverers who hover on the confines of Toryism--if such be their policy, then, I say, they will find no persons more inflexible and more uncompromising than the men who hold radical opinions. What indeed, remains for radical members of Parliament when the ministers refuse to take the initiative in matters of reform, except as private individuals to lay their own propositions before the house and the public? What alternatives have they if ministers propose ill-judged or defective measures, except to protest against the deficiency and to exert their best efforts for supplying it?"^{1.}

The last alternative which Mr. Grote mentioned was

1. Ann. Reg., LXXIX; Hist. of Eur., p. 14.

considerably less harmless than it sounded, since the reduction in the ranks of the Liberals made a slight defection of the Radicals dangerous. The Annual Register approximates the composition of the third session of the Second Reformed Parliament, which met Jan. 31, 1837, as 332 Ministerialists, of whom 80 may be considered Radicals, 100 Liberals, and 152 Whigs; and 319 anti-ministerialists, of whom 80 may be considered Conservatives, 139 Tories, and 100 Ultra-Tories. Thus the ministers had a pitiable majority of 13. If the Radicals contented themselves with proposing Radical measures, "the present administration might linger on for a considerable period of time till it had lost all moral weight in the country;" if they tried to render ministerial measures more in accordance with Radical principles, "it would either be speedily destroyed; be driven into the arms of the Tories, or on the other hand, led to take some decided step toward the popular side, or to concede the principle of open questions."^{1.}

Mr. Roebuck subscribed to the latter course in a rather spirited speech on the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne. He spoke of the two principles of government-- the aristocratic, which would make the few dominant, and the

1. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., p. 17 note.

2. Wm. Molesworth: Parliamentary Conduct of the Radicals; London and Westminster Review, April 1837, Vol. XXVII, pp. 142-150.

democratic, which would make the many dominant; of the two parties in Parliament which represented those principles--the Tory and the Radical party; and of the third party "called the Whigs, which affected to mediate between the other two, but always in the interest of the aristocracy, of which it was, in fact, but an offset." He declared "that the Whigs had deceived the people; that they kept the country in a state of excitement, bordering on revolution, merely for the purpose of maintaining themselves in power. They made reform clubs; established registration societies; in fact, did everything but the right thing, which was to do away with the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Bill, and give the people the ballot. As for Ireland, which was dwelt upon as the bright spot in their administration, he asked, what had they done for that country? They had sent there an honest governor, which in Ireland, was a species of miracle; but Lord Mulgrave, after all, was but a lucky accident; he might be removed tomorrow by one of a thousand chances, and what then remained for Ireland? Had they made a single change in her laws, a single improvement in her institutions?" Mr. Roebuck concluded by a statement of the course which is his opinion, the Radicals should pursue. They should separate from these pretended friends of reform, the Whigs, and force them into an alliance with the Tories. Then

the people would know who were really their representatives
1.
in that house.

There was a distinct lack of enthusiasm among his fellow Radicals for the militant policy of Mr. Roebuck. Mr. Hume hastened to explain "that though they had not got all they desired from ministers, still they had obtained much;..... he deprecated any disunion among reformers; by separating, they would lose all; by keeping together, they would, at least, gain something." Dr. Bowring added that ministers were deserving of the support of every member who wished well to the principles of good government and the cause of
2.
general humanity.

Going back to the plan of introducing their own measures, the Radicals placed on the Order Book of the House notices of the following motions: (1) the abolition of the property qualification of Members of Parliament; (2) removal of the bishops from the House of Lords; (3) an improved system for the disposal of waste lands in the colonies; (4) redress of the grievances of Canada; (5) repeal of the Septennial Act; (6) a bill for National Education; (7) vote by ballot; (8) reform of the local courts; (9) repeal of the

1. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., pp. 22-23.

2. Ibid, p. 24.

rate-paying clauses of the Reform Bill; (10) reform of the House of Lords; (11) repeal of the corn laws; (12) abolition of voting by proxy; (13) abolition of the law of primogeniture; (14) household suffrage; (15) abolition of the penny stamp on newspapers and pamphlets and (16) the appointment of a Minister of Education.^{1.}

The questions which were actually considered by Parliament during this session may be divided into three classes; first, those which involved no party considerations; e.g., the Irish Poor Law Bill; second, those on which the Whigs and Radicals were united against the Tories; e.g., the Irish Municipal Bill and the English Church Rate Bill; and third, those on which the Whigs and Tories combined against the Radicals, as was the case on most of the measures mentioned above as composing the Radical program, whenever those measures escaped indefinite postponement, and were presented to the House.^{2.}

The votes on this third class of measures; viz., the Radical measures, may be disposed of first, and afterwards, the attitude of the Radicals toward ministerial measures. Mr. Ewart started the Radical ball to rolling by proposing the admission of strangers to the House.^{3.} The result was

1. Molesworth: Parl. Conduct of the Radicals, Lond. & West. Rev., XXVII, p. 143.
2. Same Article.
3. Hansard XXXVI, p. 60.

a discouraging response of 11 ayes and 172 noes. The vote of 104 ayes to 133 noes on Sir. W. Molesworth's motion to abolish the property qualification of members of Parliament looked as if public opinion was veering in a Radical direction on one point at least. A creditable showing of 92 ayes against 197 noes responded to Dr. Lushington's motion to exclude the Bishops from Parliament. An attempt of Mr. Whittle Harvey to amend the Municipal Corporations Act by a provision that no person "holding the office of Recorder, Deputy Recorder, or Assistant Barrister, in any city or borough in England or Ireland shall be eligible to serve in Parliament or to be an Alderman, Councillor, or Police Magistrate in any such city or borough" failed by a vote of 108 to 52. Mr. Grote's ballot proposition showed a slight increase in popularity, 153 favoring it, 265 opposing it. Mr. Hume was defeated 66 to 17 on a motion for the return of the promotions of midshipmen and officers. Three days later, Mr. Clay moved the abolition of the corn laws. 89 voted aye, 223, no. On April 4th, Mr. Ewart moved for leave to bring in his bill to abolish primogeniture, and was defeated by a vote of 54 against 21.

1. Hansard XXXVI, p. 552.

2. Ibid, p. 630.

3. Ibid, p. 1061.

4. Hansard XXXVII, p. 67.

5. Ibid, p. 290.

6. Ibid, p. 615.

7. Ibid, p. 740.

Mr. Roebuck's motion for a committee to inquire into the effect of the Penny Stamp on newspapers was supported by 1. 42 and opposed by 81 votes. 48 stood with Sir Samuel Whalley and 206 against him on the repeal of the House and 2. Window Tax. Mr. T. Duncombe's motion for the repeal of the Rate-paying clauses of the Reform Act secured a temporary majority of 11 votes, the vote standing 49 to 38, and the minority consisting of 5 members of the government, 3. 8 Whigs, and 25 Tories. Mr. C (Tennyson) D'Eyncourt's motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act came within 9 4. votes of success, receiving 87 ayes and 96 noes. Mr. T. Duncombe lost his resolution against the method of voting 5. by proxy by a vote of 129 against 81.

Of the important government measures, the Irish Poor Law Bill was the first to be introduced (Feb. 13); but it had not yet been disposed of when the death of the king occurred 6. in June and interrupted its progress. On the 20th of February, the Irish Municipal Corporation Bill was introduced. It was practically the same as that of the year before. One opponent of the measure pointed out that the greater freedom which would come from its passage might be

1. Hansard XXXVII, p. 1183.
3. Parl. Conduct of the Radicals, Westmin. Rev., XXVII, p. 142.
4. Hansard XXXVIII, p. 687,
5. Ibid, p. 773-4.
2. Hansard XXXVII, p. 507.
6. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., pp. 69 and 78.

a menace to the Church. This gave the Radicals an opportunity which was improved by Mr. C. Buller, who said:

"I rejoice to hear it avowed by its friends, that in order to keep it (the church) up, it is necessary to deprive Ireland of almost every institution which you think good for Great Britain. This is the real mischief of that churchIn order to maintain this institution in defiance of the hostility of the nation, you have been obliged to pervert every other institution that belongs to it....It is confessed that Ireland is to be deprived of municipal government, on account of the existence of the church establishment. I do not quarrel with the premises of this reasoning. But I believe, in a short while, the people of England will draw from it a very different conclusion. They will see in it no argument against corporation reform, but
1.
a very strong one in favor of church reform. The bill
2.
passed the House, 302 to 247. In the Lords, its second reading was postponed until June 9, to wait for the result of the deliberations of the House on the Tithe Bill and
3.

Poor Law. On the night of the postponement Mr. Hume remarked in the House that there was nothing like two Houses

1. Ann. Reb., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., pp. 41-43.

2. Ibid, p. 51.

3. Ibid, p. 53.

agreeing; as the lords chose to stop all reforms, the Com-
mons had better bar supplies. On the 9th of June, the
bill was indefinitely postponed,
1.
2.

On the 3rd of March, Mr. Spring Rice introduced the
English Church Rate Bill.. It proposed to take the manage-
ment of Church property out of the hands of the bishops,
deans, and chapters, and put it into the hands of commiss-
ioners who were to lease it and pay the salaries out of it,
and, it was expected, all necessary repairs, so that rates
for the latter would be unnecessary. The bill passed its
first reading by a narrow margin of 23 votes--273 to 250;
on the second reading the majority had sunk to 5--287 to 282.
The ministers dropped it, but showed no disposition to act
on the hint of their opponents that it would be becoming
in them to resign. Lord John's substitute motion that
a committee be appointed to inquire into the present method
of holding and leasing the property of the Church carried by
a majority of 86: while Mr. Harvey's motion for abolition

1. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Bur., p. 53.
2. Ibid, p. 59.
3. Ibid, p. 82.
4. Ibid, p. 84.
5. Ibid, p. 95.
6. Ibid, p. 103.
7. Ibid, p. 105.

of church rates at all events was rejected by a majority
1.
of 431--489 against 58.

The Irish Tithe Bill which was introduced into the Commons May 1, revived the plan of appropriation in a new shape. It provided that all future bishops, dignitaries, or other beneficed clergymen should be required to pay a 10% income tax to be devoted to the purpose of general
2.
education in Ireland. Its progress, like that of the Irish Poor Law Bill, was interrupted by the death of the king.

The affairs of Canada consumed much of the time of this session. Lower Canada had been gained by England from the French in 1763. In 1791 England gave it a constitution which provided for an executive council, to be named by the governor; a legislative council, to be composed of hereditary and life members named by the governor; and an elective legislative assembly in the limited control over supplies. The upper house, or legislative council, proved obstructive, and in 1831 the Whig government gave the assembly, as an offset to this obstructive power of the upper house, complete control over supplies. They were now using that power by holding up supplies, thus leaving salaries unpaid, in an

1. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., p. 105.

2. Mawsworth: Hist. of Eng., 1830-1870, p. 455.

effort to force certain measures through the upper house and
the British Parliament. The measures which they were de-
manding were, first, that the legislative council be made
elective; second, that the executive council be responsible
to the lower house, as in England; third, that the law of
tenures be changed; fourth, that the North American Land
Company be abolished and control of the waste lands vested
in the house; and fifth, that all supplies be voted by the
lower house.^{1.} In response to these demands, the government
of England proposed 10 resolutions, among which the following
are the most important: first, to exclude the judges from
the legislative council; second, not to select the members of
that council entirely from the English race; third, to have
fewer officials among the members of the executive council;
fourth, to maintain inviolate the privileges of the North
American Land Company, while preventing abuse; fifth, to
repeal the tenureact, while guarding vested rights; and
sixth, to provide for a joint committee of the provinces of
Upper and Lower Canada to regulate commerce.^{2.}
^{3.}

The policy of the government was opposed by the Radicals,
who showed the similarity of the case of Canada to that of
Ireland. Mr. Roebuck, the paid advocate of Lower Canada,

1. Molesworth: Hist. of Eng., 1830-1870, p. 467.
2. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., p. 152.
3. Ibid, pp. 153-4.

Messrs. Leader, Robinson, Hume, and O'Connell, Sir William Molesworth and Colonel Thompson all spake in behalf of the demands of Canada. 56 Radicals voted against that resolution of the government which asserted the inadvisability of making the legislative council elective, while it recognized the need for reform of the membership. Mr. Roebuck predicted the loss of the American colonies and the possibility of their annexation to the United States if the government persisted in its policy. He broached a plan of his own for arranging the dispute, including the abolition of the legislative council, and the establishment of a general assembly to sit at Montreal, composed of delegates chosen by the houses of assembly of each of the North American colonies.^{2.} Mr. Buller disagreed with Mr. Roebuck in thinking that control of the lands should be vested in the assembly rather than the crown; but as for the change in the constitution of the legislative council, there was nothing new involved in it--eleven out of the thirteen American colonies had possessed the right of appointing the executive council, which corresponded to the legislative council of the Canadian provinces. Mr. Robinson disputed the right of the assembly to dispose of the waste lands, but asserted their right to the control of the revenue arising from their sale.^{3.} Mr. Charles Buller showed that Canada did not

1. Ann. Reg. LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., p. 163.

2. Ibid, pp. 163-4.

3. Ibid, pp. 165.

possess a hereditary aristocracy like that of England; the iron-mongers, ten-penny nail producers, and pig merchants, who constituted the Canadian aristocracy not being comparable to the aristocracy of England; wherefore the legislative council of Canada might be altered without affecting the dignity or shaking the foundation of the House of Lords in England. Mr. Roebuck tried to postpone until inquiry the resolution providing for the maintenance of the privileges of the North American Land Company, but was deserted by Mr. Grote and other Radicals, receiving only 6 votes against 166.^{1.} The resolutions were all passed and sent to the Lords May 1, where they were agreed to without a division,^{2.} Lord Brougham alone saying "non-content".^{3.}

On the 31st of May, the Radicals in Parliament met 60 members of the Workingmen's Association. Eleven of the Radicals signed the six points of the Charter proposed by the Association; viz., universal suffrage, annual elections, the ballot, abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament, payment of members of Parliament, and equal electoral districts; and a committee was appointed to draft a bill. "None of the members," says Place, "gave himself any further concern respecting the Bill they agreed to draw."

1. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., p. 166.

2. Ibid, p. 168.

3. Ibid, p. 170.

Place himself had little faith in movements for many points. He believed in the efficacy of the Corn Law League because
1.
it was confined to one point.

On June 9, the day on which the Irish Municipal Bill in the Lords and the Tithe Bill in the House were to come up, Mr. Roebuck moved that the House resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation. In the course of his speech, he arraigned the ministers severely for permitting the Lords to postpone the Municipal Corporation Bill, for going through the farce of discussing in the House a Tithe Bill which would be defeated in the other House; for leaving the administration of the law as disgraceful as ever, and the education of the people to chance. Two courses lay open to the ministers, he said: compromise or a bold and determined course until the lords yielded. He foretold the fall of the ministry within a few weeks, unless the Whigs
2,
turned Radicals.

Some of the Radicals flew to the support of the ministry. Mr. O'Connell protested against blaming the government for not doing more;^{3.} and Dr. Lushington declared the satisfaction of the dissenters over the church rate matter, and deplored a

1. Wallas: Place, p. 365.

2. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., pp 211-12.

3. Ibid, p. 215.

collision between the two Houses. He observed that he had always found that the men who in the commencement of their career, professed the most, who assumed the possession of superior purity, and treated with contempt the efforts of their fellow laborers in the same cause--he had always found such men to prove in the event the weakest supporters, and sometimes the bitterest enemies of the very principles which they affected most to advocate. Mr. Hume expressed his agreement with Mr. Roebuck on many points; he thought that ministers had not supported the great popular principles as they might have done, but he thought their course was not as clear and easy as Mr. Roebuck had described it to be; he could not shut his eyes to the existence of 300 persons in opposition, nor could he see any good in bringing the opposition, temporarily back into power.

The government was in a very uncomfortable position. With diminishing majorities in the House, they could scarcely hope to influence the king to create peers sufficient to pass their measures. The only alternatives were resignation or dissolution, and it was doubtful whether much would be obtained by the latter. They were saved the embarrassment of a choice by the death of the king, June 20, and the accession of Queen Victoria, which made necessary the election of a new Parliament.^{2.}

1. Ann. Reg., LXXIX, Hist. of Eur., p. 216.
2. Ibid., p. 217.

Speaking of the failure of the Radicals of the first and second Reformed Parliaments to force the adoption of any of their favorite principles, Mr. J. S. Mill says: "The men were honest and faithful to their opinions as far as votes were concerned, often in spite of much discouragement. When measures were proposed, flagrantly at variance with their principles, such as the Irish Coercion Bill, or the Canada Coercion act of 1837, they came forward manfully and braved any amount of hostility and prejudice rather than desert the right, but on the whole they did little to promote any opinions; they had little enterprise, little activity; they left the lead of the Radical portion of the House to the old hands, to Hume and O'Connell. A partial exception must be made in favor of one or two of the younger men, and in the case of Roebuck, it is his title to permanent remembrance, that in the first year during which he sat in Parliament, he originated (or reoriginated after the unsuccessful attempt of Mr. Brougham) the Parliamentary movement for National Education, and that he was the first to commence and for years carried on almost alone, the contest for the self-government of the colonies.....And now, in calm retrospection, I can perceive that the men were less in fault than we supposed, that we had expected too much from them. They were in unfavorable circumstances. Their lot was cast in the ten

years of inevitable reaction.....It would have required a great political leader, which no one is to blame for not being, to have effected really great things by Parliamentary discussion, when the nation was in this mood."^{1.}

1. Leader: Roebuck, p. 80.

Chapter IV

The Elections of 1837, and Conclusion.

The general elections of July and August, following the death of the king, June 20, resulted in the return for the whole United Kingdom of 349 so-called Liberals, (including Radicals and Irish Home Rulers), and 309 Conservatives. Of the 349 Liberals, only 232 were English, while the Conservatives had 239 of the English members, thus securing in England a majority of 7 over the Liberals. In 1835 the English Liberals had numbered 266, the Conservatives 205, so that the Liberals had lost, and the Conservatives had gained, 34 seats. Of these 34 seats, which the Conservatives took from the Liberals, 16 were distinctly Radical: Bath, 2; Bridgewater, 2; Brighton, 1; East Cornwall, 1; North Leicestershire, 1. Lewes, 1; Liverpool, 1; Middlesex, 1; Monmouthshire, 1; Preston, 1; Somersetshire, 1; Surrey, 1; Wakefield, 1; and Warwick Borough, 1. On the other hand, the Radicals gained 5 seats from the Tories: Bridport, Leeds, Northampton Borough, Rochdale, and Westminster. 7 Radicals were replaced by more moderate Whigs; at Boston, East Cornwall, Durham, Leominster, Monmouth District, Pontefract, and Tiverton.

1. McCalmont, Parl. Poll Book, p. 332 B.

2. See Election tables, pp. 96-100.

Commenting on the election, Greville says (July 28), "The best sign of the times is the defeat of the Radicals in various places--Roebuck and Palmer at Bath, Ewart at Liverpool, Wigney at Brighton, Thompson at Hull..... In my opinion the ministers will be all the stronger from the Radicals being so reduced in numbers, as those who remain must support them, and cannot expect any concessions

1.

in return." Greville criticizes the Tories severely for their use of the Poor Law to defeat their opponents. "No measure of the Whig government," says he, "deserved greater credit than this, or obtained so much unqualified praise and general support. Inasmuch as the Tories are the greatest landed proprietors, they are the greatest gainers by the new system, and if a Tory government should be in power at the period of the expiration of the Act, they will not hesitate to renew it. Nevertheless, when they found that some odium was excited in various parts of the country against the new Poor Law and its administration, many of them did not scruple to foment the popular discontent, and all watched its progress with satisfaction when they saw that it was

2.

exclusively directed against their political antagonists.

1. Greville, 2nd part, I, p. 13.

2. Ibid, p. 18.

There remains now only a brief explanation of the results of the election. The Times, noting the fact that George Grote was barely elected for London, securing only 6 votes more than his Conservative opponent, comments as follows: "The important consideration is this--that Mr. Grote, besides retaining his station in the rear of his three radical colleagues, not having gained a single inch upon any one of them in consequence of his two and a half years' exhibitions of ultra-Benthamite foolery during the whole of the last Parliament, has polled on this occasion between 500 and 600 voters fewer than he did at the election of 1835, and that Mr. Horsely Palmer has been supported by a number of electors amounting to nearly 900 more than voted at the previous election for Mr. Lyall, the foremost of the Conservative candidates. Now, had such a contrast been exhibited between Mr. Palmer and any other Radical candidate for London but only Mr. Grote, we should really have thought very little about the matter as a subject for political commentary.....We should like to ask our readers wherefore is this stagnation, wherefore this retrogression? Possessed of every personal quality fitted to ingratiate him with his fellow citizens of London, we must travel out of his social and private character to account for such a phenomenon of a few years' growth..... That honorable

Gentleman has made himself the frontispiece of a revolutionary code. He has become the representative and the peculiar organ of whatever is most chimerical in theory, most reckless in experiment, most fatal and revolting in hostility to our national institutions. Mr. Grote personifies the movement system..... His station, even if returned for London, proves that there is something rotten in the principle of Radicalism, that the principle of everlasting change begins to be abjured by its most zealous idolaters, and that if London does not advance, all the rest of England must ere long retrograde. We heartily congratulate our countrymen on the decisive efficacy of this first great blow.^{1.}"

Mrs. Grote thought that her husband's advocacy of the Poor Law cost him many votes. He had spoken no less than 19 times in favor of the bill, and had divided against every proposition to qualify its provisions or moderate its rigour. Opponents of the bill scattered hand-bills referring to it as a bill which dealt with poverty as a crime, and emphasizing Mr. Grote's part in its passage.^{2.}

At a by-election at Westminster in May, Sir Francis Burdett, coming out as a Conservative, defeated Mr. Leader,

1. Mrs. Grote: Life of Grote, p. 117.
2. Ibid, p. 118.

"The battle," says the Times, was between Sir Francis Burdett, representing the cause of the Protestant Revolution of 1688 and of constitutional reform ever since, and Mr. Leader, professing those of boundless change--of restless and turbulent democracy here, and of tyrannical popery in Ireland.^{1.} In the July election, however, the latter cause triumphed, Mr. Leader and Col. Evans defeating the Conservative, Sir George Murray.^{2.}

The Spectator attributes the defeat of Roebuck at Bath to four causes: first, Roebuck's repeated attacks upon the sanctity of the Sabbath; second, the neglect of the Radicals to register the voters; third, a quarrel among the Radicals of the town council over municipal affairs, which prevented them from taking part in the election; and fourth, treating and drinking carried on to such an extent by the Tories that Captain Scobell, a Whig candidate, retired on the eve of the election, declaring that the wholesale tyranny he had witnessed had made him a supporter of the ballot.^{3.}

Hume was defeated for Middlesex, but returned for Kilkenny, Ireland. Francis Place said he almost wished he had not obtained a seat, as "his conduct had not been good

1. Times, May 15, 1837.

2. McCalmont: Parl. Poll Book--See Westminster.

3. Leader: Roebuck, pp. 100-101.

in the last two sessions, nor that of any of the reformers except Roebuck, and his only in the last session." Writing to Roebuck himself, however, Place did not deign, to give him even as much qualified praise as that. "I was in hopes," he wrote, "that all the reformers who were members of the last Parliament, would have been rejected by the people or beaten by the Tories, Leader alone excepted, and I wished him to succeed merely that the Westminster people might take their own affairs into their own hands again..... Now these 'Courtiers' are all crawling to Lord Melbourne and the queen.....With Hume, however, I will not quarrel. He has done more than any man of his time for the people, and he will yet do more. I will therefore, work with him or for him in anything I may think worth the trouble it may occasion. I will never give him up unless he joins the Tories."

Fraser's attributes the fact that the Liberals were able to secure even the very slender majority which they did obtain, to four influences: first, the Corporation Reform Bill turned over to them the Whigs, Radicals, Papists, and Dissenters of Liverpool, Hull, Norwich, Bath, Ipswich, Leeds, Colchester, Northampton, Leicester, Shrewsbury, Canterbury, Oxford, Cambridge, York, Coventry, etc.; second, the marriage

1. Leader: Roebuck, pp. 102-103.

and Registration Bills were introduced with an eye to the intended dissolution, and passed; while the plan for the abolition of church rates, which did not pass, served the same purpose of winning the Dissenters; third, the Whigs used the fear of a Hanoverian dynasty for an election cry; and fourth, the Irish government aided O'Connel by putting in his tools as revising barristers, while the population was organized under the management of priests. "It is solely by the voices of the priest-led peasantry of Leicester, Munster, and Connaught that the slender majority of 18 votes has been obtained." If only the Protestant members of Parliament were considered, they claimed, there would be a clear majority of 41 votes against Lord Melbourne's minority.^{1.}

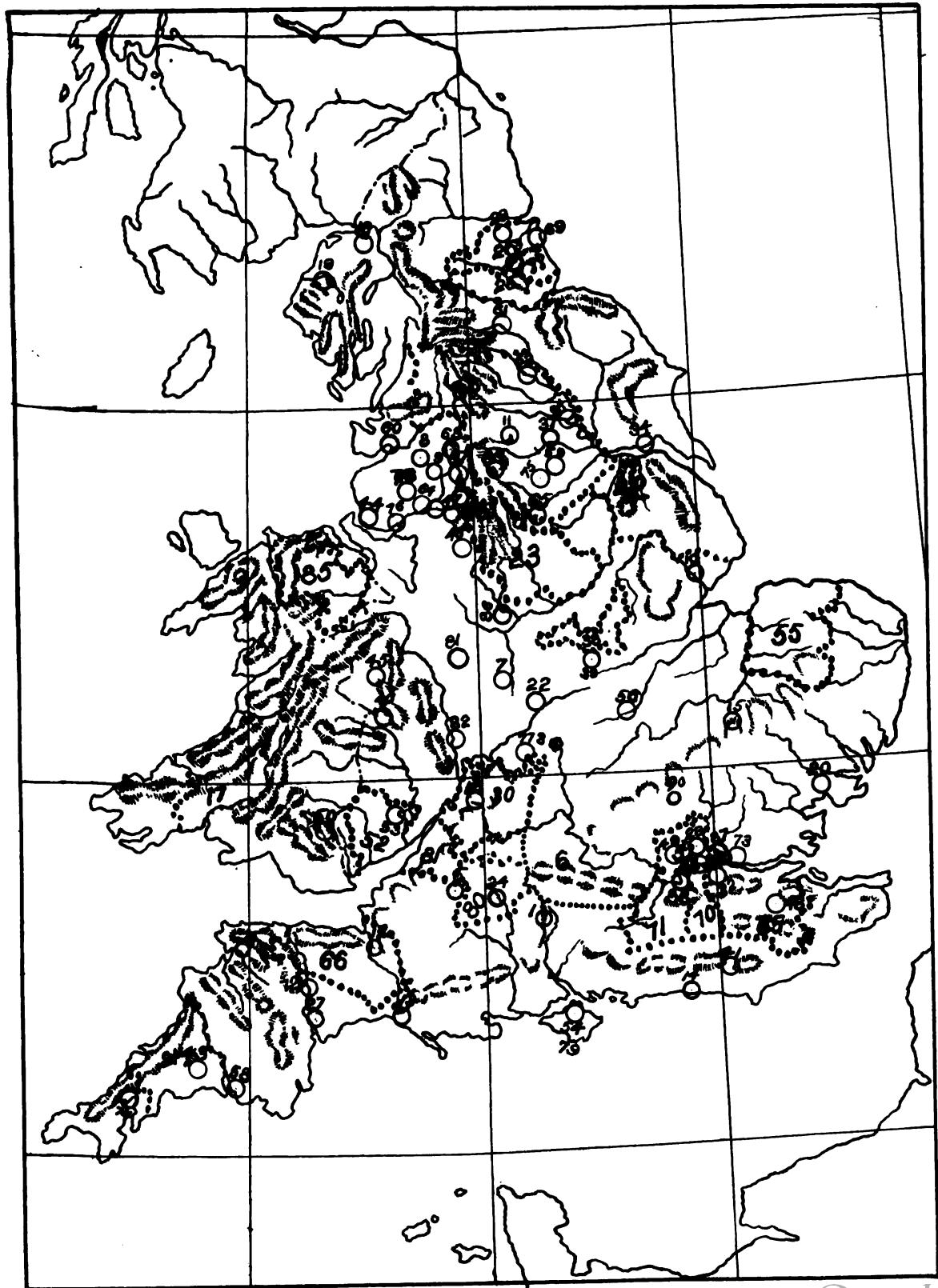
One more quotation from the Tory magazine just quoted will end this paper. "The Masses," says the editor of Fraser's, "are no more Whiggish than they are Turkish. If the great multitude of the people, including all the working classes, have any decided political bias, it is clearly towards Radicalism.....In every instance in which the Whiggish policy has been fairly submitted to a large multitude, and Radicalism opposed to it, 'the masses' have uniformly decided in favor of Radicalism. Only give 'the masses'

1. Character of the Melbourne Parliament: Fraser's Mag., September 1837, Vol. XVI, pp. 267-275.

the power of deciding the character of the government, and
the Whigs and Whiggism would vanish in an hour.^{1.}

To stop with the election of 1837 is unsatisfactory, to follow the Radicals down to their almost general defeat in 1841 would be equally unsatisfactory. Both proceedings leave an impression of failure which is not borne out by the events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The apologies of the Radicals and of their friends outside for their inability to secure any part of their formidable program in a miserable little decade seem superfluous, and the terrible prophecies of their enemies of things which have come to pass, ridiculous. To follow up those prophecies, to their fulfillment, would be to the writer, a pleasure. Since that is impossible, it is perhaps as well to close here as in any year--with the elections of 1837.

1."On Which Side are the Educated Classes?" Fraser's Mag., Vol. XVI, Oct. 1837, pp. 513-525, esp. p. 515.



Radical Towns and Counties	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
1. Andover (Hants)	Late 2	Fellowes, H.A.W. (1 Conservative)		
		Etwall, Ralph	Etwall	Etwall
2. Ashton-under-Lyne (Lancashire)	1	Hindley, Chas.	Hindley	Hindley
3. Banbury (Oxon)	1	Tancred, H.W.	Tancred	Tancred
4. Barnstaple (Devon)	2	Chichester, J.P.B.	Chichester	Chichester
5. Bath (Somersetshire) 2		Palmer, Maj.Gen.C. Palmer		(2 Conserv.)
		Roebuck, Jno.A.	Roebuck	
6. Berkshire	3	Walter, Jno.	(3 Conservatives)	
7. Birmingham (Warwickshire)	Late 2	Attwood, Thos.	Attwood	
		Scholfield, J.	Scholfield,	
8. Blackburn (Lancashire)		Turner, Wm.	Turner	Turner
9. Bolton (Lancashire)	2	Torrens, Col. Robt.	Ainsworth, P.	Ainsworth
10. Boston (Lincoln)	2	Wilks, Jno.	(1 Conservative)	(1 Conserv.)
		Handley, Maj.B.	Wilks, Jno.	(1 Liberal)
11. Bradford (York)	2	Lister, E.C.	Lister	
		Hardy, Jno.	Hardy	Busfield

Radical Towns and Counties	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
12. Bridgewater	2	Tynte, C.J.K. Tayleur, Wm.	Tynte Leader	(2 Conservatives)
13. Bridport (Dorsetshire)	Late 2	Warburton, Henry Romilly, J.	Warburton (1 Conservative) Jervis, S.	
14. Brighton (Sussex)	2	Wigney, I.H.	(1 Liberal) (1 Liberal)	
15. Cambridge	2	Faithfull, Geo.	Wigney (1 Conservative)	
16. Carlisle (Cumberland)	2	Pryme, Geo.	Pryme	
17. Carmarthenshire (Wales)	2	James, W.	(2 Liberals)	
18. Cheltenham (Gloucestershire)	1	Adams, E.H.	(1 Cons, & 1 Lib)	
19. Cockermouth (Cumberland)	Late 2	Berkeley, Hon.C.F.	Berkeley Horsman (less Radical)	Berkley
		Dykes, F.L.B.	Dykes	Aglionby
				Aglionby

Radical Towns and Counties	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
20.Colchester (Essex)	2	Harvey, D.W.	Conservative	
21.Cornwall (East)	2	Molesworth, Sir Wm. Trelawney	Molesworth (1 Conservative) (1 Liberal)	
22.Coventry (Warwickshire)	2	Bulwer, H.L. Biddulph, P.M.	Williams, Wm. (2 Conservatives)	Williams
85.Denbighshire	2	Strutt, Edward	Strutt	
86.Derby	2	Gisborne, T.	Gisborne	
23.Derbyshire (N)	2	Locke, W.D.	Locke	
24.Devizes (Wilts)	Late 2	Lambton, H.	Dundas, Capt.	
88.Durham (N)	2	Pease, Jos.	Pease	(1 Liberal)
25.Durham (S)	2	Bowes, J.	Bowes	Bowes
26.Durham (City)	2	Chaytor, Wm.R.C.	(1 Cons. & 1 Lib.)	
27.Exeter (Devonshire)	2	Divett, E.	Divett	Divett
28.Finsbury (Middlesex)	2			(1 Lib. & 1 Cons.). Duncombe, T.S. Duncombe

Radical Towns and Counties	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
29.Gateshead, (Durham)	1	Rippon, C.	Rippon	Rippon
30.Gloucestershire (East)	2	Guise, Sir.B.W. (1 Conservative)		
		MoretonHon. H.G. F. Moreton	Moreton	
31.Gloucestershire (W)	2	Berkeley, Hon.G. C. G.F. Berkeley	Berkeley	
32.Greenwich(Kent)	2	Barnard, F.G.	Barnard	
33.Halifax, (Yorkshire)	2	Briggs, Rawdon	(1 Lib.& 1 Cons).	
34.Hull(Yorkshire)	2	Hill, Mathew D. (Conservative)		
		Hutt, Wm.	Hutt	Hutt
35.Kent(W)	2	Hodges, Thos.L.	Hodges	Hodges
36.Lambeth(Surrey)	2	Tennyson, Hon.C.	Tennyson	Tennyson
		Hawes, Benj.	Hawes	Hawes
37.Leeds(Yorkshire)	2	Marshall, John	Baines, Edw.	Baines
		(1 Conservative)	(1 Conservative)	Molesworth
38.Leicestershire(N).	2	Phillips, C.M.	Phillips	(1 Conservative)

Radical Towns and Counties	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
39.Leicester	2	Evans, Wm.	(2 Conservatives)	(2 Liberals)
		Ellis, W.		
40.Leominster (Herefordshire)	Late 2	Bish,T.	Bish	(1 Cons. & 1 Lib).
41.Lewes (Sussex)	Late 2	Kemp, T.R.	Kemp	(1 Lib. & 1 Cons).
42.Lincolnshire (N.)	2	Inglby,Sir.W.A.	(1 Cons).	
43.Liskeard (Cornwall)	1	Buller,Chas.	Buller	
44.Liverpool (Lancashire)	Late 2	Ewart,Wm.	Ewart	(2 Conservatives)
87.London	4	Grote,Geo.	Wood	Wood
		Wood,Matthew	Pattison	Crawford
		Key,Sir.J.	Crawford	Pattison
		(1 Lib.)	Grote	Grote
45.Ludlow(Salop)	2	Romilly,Edw.	(2 Conservatives)	
46.Macclesfield (Cheshire)	2	Brocklehurst,Jno.	Brocklehurst	Brocklehurst
48.Knaidstone(Kent)	2	Barnett,C.J.	(1 Conservative)	

Radical Towns and Counties	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
47. Manchester (Lancashire)	Late 2	Phillips, Mark	Philips	Philips
49. Marylebone (Middlesex)	2	Whalley, Sir. Samuel	Whalley	Whalley
50. Merthyr-Tydfil (Wales)		Guest, Josiah J. Guest	Guest	Guest
51. Middlesex	2	Hume, Jos.	Hume	(1 Lib. & 1 Cons.).
52. Monmouthshire	2	Williams, T.A.	Williams	(2 Conservatives).
53. Monmouth District	1	Hall, B.	Hall	(1 Liberal).
54. Newport (Isle of Wight)	Late 2	Hawkins, J.H. Ord, Wm. H.	Hawkins Blake, W.J.	Hawkins Blake
55. Norfolk (W)	2	Astley, Sir. J.	(2 Conservatives)	
56. Northampton (Borough)	2	(1 Lib. & 1 Cons). (1 Lib. & 1 Cons). Currie, R.		
57. Oldham (Lancashire)	2	Cobbett, Wm. Fielden, Jno.	Fielden	Fielden
58. Plymouth (Devonshire)		Collier, Jno. Bewes, T.B.	Collier Bewes	Collier Bewes

Radical Towns and Counties	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
59.Pontefract (Yorkshire)	2	Gully, Jno.	Bully	(1 Cons.& 1 Lib).
60.Preston (Lancashire)	2		Stanley, Hon.H.T. Stanley (1 Lib-Cons. & 1 Conservative)	
61.Richmond'Yorkshire)	2	Dundas, Hon.J.C. (2 Lib).		
62.Ripon(Yorkshire)	Late 2	Staveley, T.K.	(2 Cons).	
63.Roondale (Lancashire)	1	Fenton, Jno.	(1Cons). Fenton, J.	
90.St. Albans (Hertfordshire)	Late 2	Ward, Henry Geo.	Ward (1 Cons. & 1 Lib).	
64.Balford (Lancashire)	1	Brotherton, Jos.	Brotherton	Brotherton
65.Sheffield (Yorkshire)	2	Buckingham, J.S.	Buckingham Ward, H.G.	
66.Somersetshire(W)	2	Sanford, E.A. Tynte, C.J.K.	Sanford Tynte (1 Cons).	
67.Southward(Surrey)	2	Humphrey, Jno. (1 Liberal)	Humphrey Harvey, D.W. Harvey	
68.Stockport (Cheshire)	2	Lloyd, Jno.H.	Marsland, Henry Marsland	

Radical Towns and Counties	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
69. Sunderland (Durham)	2	Chayton, Sir W.	(1 Conx. & 1 Lib).	
70. Surrey, (E.)	2	Briscoe, Jno. I.	(1 Conservative) (2 Cons).	
		Beauclerk, A. W.	Beauclerk	
71. Surrey, (W.)	2	Denison, W. J.	Denison	Denison
		Leach, J.	(1 Cons).	(1 Cons).
72. Tiverton (Devonshire)	2	Kennedy, J.	Kennedy	(2 Lib.).
73. Tower Hamlet (Middlesex)	2	Lushington, Stephen	Lushington	Lushington
		Clay, Wm.	Clay	Clay
74. Truro (Cornwall)	2	Tooke, Wm.	Tooke	Turner, E.
75. Wakefield (Yorkshire)	1	Gaskell, Daniel	Gaskell	(1 Cons).
76. Warrington (Lancashire)	1	Hornby, E. G.	(1 Cons)	
77. Warwick, (Borough)	2	King, R. B.	King	(1 Lib. & 1 Cons).
89. Westminster (Middlesex)	2	2 Liberals.	Evans, Col.	Leader, J. T.
			Evans, Col.	

Radical Towns and Counties	M.P.'s.	Number of M.P.'s.	1832 Radical Members	1835 Radical Members	1837 Radical Members
78. Wigan(Lancashire)	2		Thickness, Ralph	(1 Cons).	(1 Lib).
79. Wight, Isle of	1		Potter, Richard	Potter	Potter
80. Wiltshire(H.)	2		Simeon, Sir R.G.	Simeon	(1 Cons).
81. Wolverhampton (Staffordshire)	2		Astley, Sir J.D.	1 Cons.	
			Fryer, Richard	Villiers, Chas.P.	Villiers
			(I Liberal)	Thorneley, Thos.	Thorneley
82. Worcester(City)	2		Robinson, G.R.	Robinson	Davies
			Davies, Col.	(I Conservative)	
83. Yorkshire(West Riding)	2		Strickland, Sir G.	Strickland	Strickland
84. York(City)	2		Bayntun, S.A.	Dundas, Hon.J.C.	Dundas

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Ronald R. Dennis

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